THE ARYA SAMAJ AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

(1875-1920)

DHANPATI PANDEY

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Dedicated to
Dr. R. Sinha, my sister,
who engaged me in this work
and always wants to see progress
and prosperity in my life.

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FOREWORD

Dr. D. Pandey has invited me to write a few words to his work on 'The Arya Samaj and Indian Nationalism (1875-1920)'. It gives me great pleasure to note that his work is an original and important contribution in the world of history. Generally we are of opinion that the Arya Samaj was founded only to bring radical changes in Indian society and religion and it had nothing to do with politics of the country before its independence. Dr. Pandey has removed this notion of ours and has viewed the Samaj with a different angle. In his opinion, the Samaj's main aim was to emancipate India from the British Yoke. It is the effort of the author to show that long before the Indian National Congress took up the programme of Swadeshi, Boycott, national education, national language and social amelioration, the Samaj and its Founder, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, had already laid stress on these national aspects and reforms.

The author has clearly mentioned the contributions of the Samaj to the growth and development of Indian nationalism during the period under review. He rightly observes, "In the country of Dayananda Saraswati there was no place for Europeans and Indians could manage everything far better than Europeans....Dayananda gave the war-cry of 'Swaraj is our birthright' and brought out the differences between Suraj (good-govt.) and Swaraj (self-govt.) and advocated that no foreign government, however good, could equal self-government." The Samaj taught this revolutionary gospel in the time when nobody could dare to teach the meaning of Swaraj in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was the Samaj which through its militant approach made Indians realize that they were the heirs of a splendid heritage, that they were a great nation in their own right. Cultural renaissance aroused by the Samaj prepared the background against which the later nationalist, I mean the extremist, school flourished. The militant idea of the Samaj greatly aroused suspicion

among the British officials and at their direction the government began to keep a strict eye on the activities of the Arya Samajists. I fully agree with author's view that "the Samaj made considerable contributions to Indian nationalism—made it fuller in its contents, wider in its scope, indigenous in its approach, militant in its tone and nobler in its ideals".

I hope this work which has been prepared with the assistance of original sources would prove to be a valuable contribution to the stock of historical books. I congratulate the young scholar for his such a fine and lucid contribution.

Patna (Bihar) DUKHAN RAM

April 19, 1972.

PREFACE

This is a study of one of the socio-religious-cultural movements in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century in India which exerted a powerful and profound influence on Indian nationalism. The Arya Samaj was founded by a man who had no western education through the medium of English. Rather, he was a scholar of Sanskrit trained on traditional line. But the climate of contemporary India had greatly influenced him and the sanyasin in him receded into the background and the man of action in him came forward to advocate the reconstruction of India on national lines. This is an effort to show that long before the Indian National Congress took up the programme of Swadeshi, Boycott, national education, national language, and social amelioration, the Arya Samaj and its founder had already laid stress on these reforms which made the Arya Samaj the ardent champion of militant nationalism. This militant nationalism aimed both at radical social reconstruction and national emancipation from alien rule. This was very much similar to the programme adopted by the Indian National Congress in 1920.

This work has been divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter of this work, the background of the present study has been surveyed. It has been shown that after the revolt of 1857 nationalism was mostly confined to the English-educated people. These people generally derived their inspirations from western thinkers and English literature. It has been also discussed that the Arya Samaj was the first to depart from this tradition and give an indigenous orientation to Indian nationalism. The militant views of Dayananda on the Vedas, culture, national religion, national education and national language have been discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter deals with Swaraj which was advocated by Dayananda. It has been also shown in this chapter that Dayananda aroused the sense of self-confidence in Indians and accepted Hindi as his medium of

instruction. In the fourth chapter a survey has been made to show the attempts of the Arya Samaj for the furtherance of nationalism in India. The fifth chapter deals with the fact that the Arya Samaj brought national movement nearer to the masses and furnished recruits from its ranks to the Congress for the freedom struggle.

The attitude of the English Government in India towards the Arya Samaj has been critically examined in the sixth chapter. This chapter also deals with those leaders who were greatly responsible for the building up of an Indian Nation, though they were regarded seditionist in the opinion of the Government. The last chapter institutes a comparison between the Congress and the Arya Samaj and the movements led by Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhananda, both belonging to the Congress as well as to the Arya Samaj. I have also described the aims and objects of the Gurukula at Kangri which produced such men as mustered a new type of nationalism.

This work is based on a variety of sources—the Daily, Weekly and Fortnightly Reports of the Director of Criminal Intelligence Department, Government of India, Secret and Confidential Official Records; Contemporary newspapers, magazines and periodicals; the Reports of the National Social Conference, of the Indian National Congress, of the Famine Commission, of the Census of India; the memoirs, speeches, writings and biographies and secondary sources.

I have received great help from Dr. S.R. Singh, Reader in History, University of Bihar, Muzaffarpur, in the preparation of this work. He suggested the subject to me and advised and encouraged me always, whether I was in Delhi or Calcutta, while it was being investigated. I am deeply indebted to my revered teacher, Dr. Panchanan Mishra, Head of the Department of History, Bhagalpur University, for his valuable help in the preparation of this work. I am also grateful to Dr. R. Sinha, my sister, whose good wishes and help were always with me. I shall do injustice if I fail to express my sense of gratitude to Sri Digvijaya Narayan Singh, M.P., who directed me to meet Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, M.P., and Shri Bhai Mahavir, M.P., the son of Bhai Parmanand. I am equally obliged to the librarians of

National Archives Library, Sapru House, Hardinge Library, A.I.C.C. Library, Delhi University Library, the Director of National Archives of India at Delhi and the librarian of the National Library at Calcutta for the help and facilities extended to me in course of my investigations.

I express my sense of high gratitude to Padma-Bhushan Dr. Dukhan Ram, B.Sc., M.B., D.L.O., D.O., M.S. (London), Ex-Vice-Chancellor of Bihar University, the President of the International League of the Arya Samaj, for agreeing to write the Foreword of this book.

Dhanpati Pandey.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	..	All India Congress Committee.
Census of India	..	*Report of the Census of India.*
C.I.D.	..	Criminal Intelligence Department.
D.C.I.	..	Director of Criminal Intelligence (Department).
E.I.C.	..	East India Company.
I.L.A.S.	..	International League of the Arya Samaj.
I.N.C.	..	Indian National Congress.
Int.	..	Introduction.
I.O.L.	..	India Office Library.
I.S.R.	..	Indian Social Reformer.
Lt.-Col.	..	Lieutenant-Colonel.
MSS.	..	Manuscripts.
N.A.I.	..	National Archives of India.
N.S.C.	..	National Social Conference.
Pal, B.C. Memoirs	..	Pal, Bipin Chandra; Memoirs of My Life and Times.
Report, I.N.C.	..	Report of the Proceedings of the Indian National Congress.
Report, N.S.C.	..	Report of the Proceedings of the National Social Conference.

Introduction

After the failure of the great mutiny of 1857 three agencies became responsible for the spread of nationalism in India. They were the foreign Christian missionaries, the British Government and the educated Orientalists.[1] Though the Christian missionaries were allowed some liberty to carry on their religious and educational propagation in British India before the outbreak of the mutiny, yet these missionaries became more active after 1857 with the spread of English education in India. Both, the Christian missionaries and Western educational system had great impact on Indian politics and society and influenced the mind of the Indian people.[2] As soon as the great mutiny of 1857 was crushed, the battle was taken by the new intellectual class which was more influenced by the Christian missionaries and western education than the general mass. This class took the lead in national awakening and the character and nature of national struggle became non-violent, constitutional and popular when the masses were gradually drawn within its fold.[3] The new intellectual class began to think that as a matter of fact there could be no national war of independence before the Indians were conscious of forming a nationality and imbued with a sense of patriotism or yearning for independence.[4]

1. Farquhar, J.N., *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 5.
2. Ahlliwalia, M.M., *Freedom Struggle in India (1858-1909)*, Int., p. IX.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Majumdar, R.C., *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*, p. 6.

The Christian missionaries, one of the principal agencies in disseminating national attitude and modern education in India, were inspired chiefly by a proselytizing spirit. They wanted to spread Christianity on Indian soil.[5] They held that their campaign to convert the Indian people was a civilising mission. Hence they assailed the entire corpus of religious beliefs and social practices and reviled them.[6] The Christian religion accepts one God and advocates social equality. Therefore its missionaries opposed Hindu polytheism and attacked it mercilessly. Besides, they also criticized the caste inequalities existing in the Hindu community.[7] These attacks of the Christian missionaries on the religion and society of the Hindu people, no doubt, shocked the latter and compelled them to react strongly to the attack; yet they were also influenced by the Christianity and became familiar with their religious and social demerits. It brought a new social outlook later on which became fruitful in obtaining freedom for India in future. Thus, "the Christian missionaries was a powerful agent in bringing about religious and social awakening in Western India of which the school of Hindu protestantism of the latter half of the 19th century was the fruit."[8]

Along with attacking the Hindu religion and society, the missionaries also extended considerable encouragement to the education of Indians and to the revival of their literature.[9] They adopted the instrument of English education for purpose of proselytisation. On the one hand, they imparted modern secular education through the medium of English language and on the other, they started educational institutions which also gave religious instruction in Christianity. Indians came together in these institutions and studied Christianity. Many of the Indians learnt and studied modern education of the West but few of

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5. Desai, A.R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*. p. 139.

6. Ahlluwalia, M.M., *op. cit.*, Int.. p. IX.

7. Desai A.R. *op. cit.*, p. 139.

8. Singh, Sita Ram, *Nationalism and Social Reform in India (1885-1920)*, p. 6.

9. *Ibid.*

them became Christians. Undoubtedly the principal motive in introducing modern education in these secular institutions was religious, yet these missionaries played a significant role in spreading modern education among the Indians and widening their mental horizon.[10] The names of Dr. Wilson, Dr. Murry Mitchell, Dr. Pope, Dr. Miller, Dr. Kittael and Dr. Murdoch will always be identified with movements that sought to raise the people.[11] For utilitarian purposes or attracted by values of Western science and thought taught in Christian institutions, many Indians in the metropolitan towns and other large urban centres desired to impart Western education to their children.

The British Government, the second agency of disseminating nationalism by introducing modern education in India, initiated a scheme of modern education through the medium of English language. It established a network of schools and colleges in India which began to impart liberal and technical education. But one should keep in mind that Western education was introduced in India for the fulfilment of the needs of British Government. Two motives—political-administrative and economic—compelled the Government to introduce modern education in India. From 1757 to 1858 Britain conquered a substantial portion of the Indian territory. During that time she made great progress in the field of trade. Industrial products of Britain began to flow into India and she became the chief market of the English people. For the expanding trade with India and also for the industries established in India, Britain needed clerks, managers and agents who knew English.[12] From political and administrative points of view, the British empire was widened and her administrative machinery was huge. So a large number of educated Indians with the knowledge of English was required to the British staff in India. Britain herself was not in a position to supply educated personnel. It, therefore, became essential to establish English schools and colleges

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10. Nurullah, Syed, and Naik, J.P., *History of Education in India*, p. 92.

11. Chandavarkar, N.G., *Speeches and Writings*, pp. 43-44.

12. Thompson, E. and Garratt, G., *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 15.

in India to meet such needs. Thus it may be said that it was not a mere accident that by the middle of the 19th century especially under Lord Dalhousie, important beginnings of the inauguration of modern education in India were made.[13]

Mr. A. R. Desai mentions other motives also which gave encouragement to English statesmen and leaders to introduce modern education in India. They were of the opinion that "their (of the English) culture was the best and the most liberal in the world and that if India, South Africa, and, later on, the entire world were anglicized culturally, it would pave the way for the social and political unification of the world."[14] Two important personalities, Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, belonged to this school of opinion. The aim of Mr. Cecil Rhodes was "the extension of British rule throughout the world, the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates....the whole of the South Africa...the ultimate recovery of United States of America as an integral part of the British empire, the inauguration of a system of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire. and finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interest of humanity."[15] Thus this was a scheme of anglicizing the whole of world and thereby achieving the empire and world political and social unity of peoples under the guidance and leadership of British statesmen. Mr. Mounstuart Elphinstone held that English education would make the Indian people gladly accept the British rule.[16] But the English forgot that the English literature would give literature of freedom and a spirit of nationalism and independence to the Indian people.[17]

The result was a rapid expansion of the new type of education which was taken advantage of by the Indian Youth more

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13. Desai, A.R., *op. cit.*, p. 140.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, pp. 658-659.
17. *Ibid.*

as a means of employment rather than liberal education. Through English education "India awoke from the slumber of ages as a result of the impact. Rationalism took the place of blind faith, individualism supplanted the tyranny of dogma and traditional beliefs and authorities, and ideas of social justice and political rights shook off the lethargy and cast off the fatalism or determination of ages. The achievements of the Europeans in art and science, and the phenomenal progress in their society and politics, during the preceding two centuries when India sat still, infused new ideas and generated fresh vigour among men who had been hitherto content to leave everything to fate, to look back upon the past rather than the future, and turn their searchlight inwards rather than outwards over the wide world."[18] Though the English system of education showed the wide road of nationalism to Indians, but its real aim was the creation of a new class of Indians who would be 'Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect.'[19]

The third powerful agency in spreading and popularizing modern education was the great orientalists. The orientalists were also divided into two groups—the English educated Indians and the Indians who had faith in the India's past glory.

Raja Ram Mohan Rai had grasped the importance of English education as the great lever of national upliftment. In fact it was his influence, more than Macaulay's rhetoric, which led to the adoption of English as the medium of education in India. Already a section of enlightened Indian's had also come to realise the need of linking their countrymen with the progressive cultural forces of the West.[20] Sir Hyde East, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, observed in his letter addressed on the 18th May, 1816, to Mr. J. Harrington, a brother Judge then in England: "About the beginning of May (1816) Baidyanath Mukhopadhyaya called upon me and informed me, that many of the Hindus were desirous of forming an establish-

18. Majumdar, R.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

19. Quoted in B. Margarita: *India Today and Tomorrow*, p. 176.

20. Banerjee, B.N., *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha, Part-I*, pp. 22-23.

ment for the education of their children in a liberal manner."[21] The immediate fruit of this spirit was the establishment of the Hindu College of Calcutta on the 28th January, 1817. Raja Ram Mohan Rai, Radha Kant Deb and a few enlightened Indians were zealously associated with its origin and early progress. But Raja Ram Mohan Rai took keen interest in introducing and spreading the English education in India. He was of the opinion that English education would open before Indians a new vista and they would be acquainted with the political administrative system of Western countries.[22] His zeal for the spread of new education found concrete expression in other ways too. No doubt he had a high regard for India's classical knowledge, but at the same time he realised that concentration of efforts on this aspect only would mean intellectual isolation for his country at a time when dynamic forces (the French Revolution of 1789 and the Industrial Revolution) were in other parts of the world revolutionising thoughts of mankind. It was this conviction that led him to address a letter to Lord Amherst on the 11th December, 1823, in which he strongly advocated the establishment of a seminary for the diffusion of the arts and sciences of Europe among his country-men and opposed the Government plan for the establishment of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta which, in his opinion, would only impart such knowledge as is current in India.[23]

Raja Ram Mohan Rai had already opened a School at Suripara in Calcutta for free teaching of Hindu boys in English.[24] Afterwards he opened Cornwallis Square in Calcutta in 1822, which, according to Miss Collet, was known as the Anglo-Hindu School.[25] This institution, which came to be known as the "Indian Academy" after January 1834, afforded free tuition to the boys. From 1811 to 1829 he conducted a one-man cam-

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21. *Ibid.*, Part-III, pp. 195-198.

22. Majumdar, J.K., *Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Progressive Movements in India*, p. 104.

23. *Ram Mohan—Centenary Volume, Part-II, Section I*, pp. 44-45.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

paign which for energy, variety and consistency has not been equalled in history.

It is significant to note that not only Raja Ram Mohan Rai but also some others started institutions at different places for English education in those days. Mr. Jai Narayan Ghoshal started in 1818 a school at Banaras for the teaching of English, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali. *Samachar Darpan,* a Bengali Journal, noted in its issue of the 18th June, 1931, that Rasik Krishna Mallik, one of the most famous products of the Hindu College, established at Simla an institution named the Hindu Free School where eighty students received education.[26] Again six morning Pathshalas were opened at six different centres.[27] Sri Gobind Chandra Basak started the Hindu Free School in 1834 the students of which were examined by Mr. David Hare to his satisfaction in March 1835.[28] A charity school, named Hindu Benevolent Institution, was started on the 15th March, 1831, by Sarda Prasad Basu, in his own house near Syampukar in Calcutta.[29] In 1832, two rich Indians, named Kalinath Raychoudhary and Baikuntha Raychoudhary of Taki, situated at a distance of about forty miles from Calcutta, provided for the establishment of a local school to teach English, Arabic, Persian and Bengali to the boys and placed its entire management under the control of Rev. Duff.[30] Schools were established in different parts of Calcutta and other places such as Hugli, Burdwan, Midnapur, Dacca, Barisal, Santipur, Murshidabad, Rangpur, Allahabad, Agra and Delhi.[31] At these institutions instruction was given in English language and in the higher branches of education.

Here we should keep in mind that nationalism during this period was mostly confined to these English educated people

26. *Samachar Darpan,* 18th June, 1831 (NAI).
27. *Calcutta Review,* 1850 (July to December), p. 180.
28. Quoted in J.C. Bagal, *Unabingsha Satabadir Bangala,* pp. 192-193.
29. Banerjee, B.N., *op. cit.,* Part-III, p. 206.
30. *Ibid.,* Part-II, p. 45.
31. Frazer, R.W., *Literary History of India,* p. 394.

who derived generally inspiration from English history, Burke, Mazzini and European liberalism. The Western literature and thinkers were a source of inspiration to Indian people. Britain produced Bacon who gave the scientific method to study processes and phenomena, both of induction. She produced a galaxy of good thinkers after Bacon. They were Darwin, the discoverer of the theory of the evolution of organic life, especially of the human species; Spencer who was a great sociologist; Locke a profound philosopher; Godwin, the advocate of the philosophical anarchism; J. S. Mill, the supporter of individual liberty and many others. These scholars greatly influenced Indian mind, especially the English-educated people.

Burke and European liberalism were also greatly responsible for changing the political and social outlook of educated Indians. The Indian people studied the philosophies of Democritus, Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Comte, Hegel, Max Stirner, Karl Marx and others.[32] They studied both, the translation works and the original works. An Indian was in a position to assimilate the social theories of Plato, Machiavelli, Diderot, Voltaire and other ideological lights of the 18th century France and of Auguste Comte, Saint Simon, socialist Marx and Engels, anarchist Bakunin, syndicalist Prodhon and others.[33] The life and teachings of Burke found a new audience in India. The Indians studied his philosophy and were greatly impressed by the utilitarian liberalism of the Victorian age.[34]

Similarly the English educated Indians were greatly influenced by the philosophy of Italy's leaders. Mazzini and Garibaldi had become the guiding star of Indian leaders during the end of the 19th century. Sri Surendra Nath Banerjea studied the philosophy of Mazzini and keeping his example before his way he sat upon the task of stirring political interest among Bengali students in 1876. He lectured on 'Mazzini' at several places in Bengal.[35] A testimony to the effect of these lectures

32. Desai, A.R., *op. cit.*, p. 162.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

34. Dodwell, H.H., *A Sketch of the History of India*, p. 12.

35. *Speeches of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea*, Vol. I (Edited by R.C. Palit), p. 21, April, 1876.

is provided by Bipin Chandra Pal who noted that he and his fellow students were greatly inspired by Banerjea's oratory, formed secret societies, and took, "secret vows of service and devotion to the motherland."[36] He says: "Mazzini's life and particularly his extremely sensitive patriotism which so worked upon his youthful imagination that even as school-boy he refused to join in any form of gaiety of his family and his community in the face of bondage in which his country lay under Austrian domination, drew out all the latent passion for national freedom in us. The tyrannies of the Austrian army of occupation in Italy, who showed scant regard for the rights and liberties of the Italian people and who treated even the Italian intellectuals ...as helots and slaves, made a profound impression upon our sensitive minds. Neither the person nor the property...nor even the honour of their women, were safe from the wanton insults and outrages of Austrian officers and soldiers. We saw or imagined a great similitude between the position of the Italians under Austrian domination and our own position under British rule. These things working upon youthful imagination created a profound sympathy in us with the struggle for national freedom in Itlay led by Mazzini, when the story was presented to us by Surendra Nath Banerjea. We commenced to read the writings of Mazzini and the history of Young Italy movement. ...The new inspiration imparted to Young Bengal by Banerjea's presentation of the life of Mazzini and Italian freedom movement led many of us to form secret associations. Calcutta student community was at that time almost honeycombed with these organisations."[37]

From the establishment of English schools, colleges and universities, the educated intelligentsia of India generally, and of Bengal particularly, had been mostly under the influence of European thought and culture. In his social message Raja Ram Mohan Roy had accepted advanced idealism of Western countries and particularly of modern England and in his political message S. N. Banerjea had followed the political idealism of

36. Pal, B.C., *Memoirs of My Life and Times,* pp. 245-248.
37. *Ibid.*

modern Europe. The former was loyal to British rule and was moderate in his social and political views. "He stood for the assimilation of all that was best in the West, but he was not to be swept off his feet."[38] The political agitation in India began with him. His study of English literature, history and parliamentary institution made him acquainted with Western political ideas and he introduced methods of political agitation by petitions, pamphlets, memorials, public meetings and the press.[39] In consonance with his liberal religious and social views, his nationalism was also liberal. He believed that Indian nationalism could gain ground only when the nations of the Western world had become free.[40] He started an agitation for the safeguard and protection of the political interests of the people of India. He looked towards British rule for the protection of these interests. He, therefore, was the best friend of the Englishmen. In 1832, he publicly declared that in the case of the objects of the Reform Bill were defeated, he would leave his residence in the dominions of England and would settle down in America.[41] But his agitation had no anti-western bias. He even stood for the colonization of India by Europeans because he thought it would lead to the improvement in the administration of justice, prevention of abuse of power on the part of the authorities, spread of English education and the cultivation of European arts and sciences, better knowledge about India by England, better defence system, lasting relation between the two countries if England governed India on liberal lines, and the exercise of a more civilizing influence upon this country by the settlers even after separation from England.[42] He held that greater contact with Europeans would be conducive to real improvement in India's literacy, social and political conditions.[43]

38. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

39. *The Father of Modern India—Ram Mohan Roy Centenary Commemoration Vol.*, Part-II, p. 531.

40. Majumdar, B.B., *History of Political Thought From Ram Mohan to Dayananda* (1821-84), Vol. I, p. 21.

41. *The Father of Modern India—Ram Mohan Roy Centenary Commemoration, Vol.*, Part-II, p. 27.

42. Majumdar, J.K., *op. cit.*, Int., p. 39.

43. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Though the orthodox Hindus opposed this but Ram Mohan did not care. The latter along with moderate supporters of his Brahmo Samaj and other leaders also felt that if Indians were admitted into higher services and were allowed representation in the legislative and executive organs of the Government a new heaven would be established in India, and all the sufferings of the people would be vanished as if by a magic wand.[44]

Similarly Surendra Nath Banerjea was also loyal to the Empire. He had received his early education in an English college where he was taught English and Latin literature by his English teachers.[45] His father accepted Western ideals and modes of behaviour. The son also accepted the same and became moderate in his view. He always showed his loyalty to the British Government, admired the British institutions and showed his religious inclination towards Christian ideals.[46] He lectured on "Mazzini", on "The study of Indian History", on "England and India", and on "Indian Unity."[47] His recurrent theme in these lectures stressed Indians' loyalty and gratitude to British rule side by side with a rallying cry for Indian patriotism and unity. Although he discarded Mazzini's revolutionary doctrine, he projected "Young Italy" as an inspiring example for a self-reliant united India.[48] He urged the formation of political associations modelled on the Catholic Association of Daniel O'Connel. In his political view, Mr. Banerjea was of opinion that political advancement could be secured by means of constitutional agitation in India and in England.[49] He denied constitutional agitation as "an agitation which must be carried only within the limits of the law."[50] He asserted that Indians should hold public meetings or send deputations and petitions to protest against

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44. Majumdar, J.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 432-433.

45. *The Indian Nation Builders*, Madras, 1921, 7th Edition, p. 56.

46. *Home Public Department Proceedings*, Dec. 1873, No. 6443 (N.A.I.).

47. *Speeches of Surendra Nath Banerjea*, Vol. I, p. 21.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Indian Mirror*, 27th July, 1883.

50. *Speeches of Surendra Nath Banerjea*, Vol. II, p. 43.

acts of the Government, but he qualified the form of protest by emphasising, "We may do nothing which even remotely has the appearance of illegality about it. We take our stand upon the ...basis of the law and constitution. There we stand and there we intend to remain. We shall not permit ourselves to be dislodged from it, or be provoked to quitting it and we shall discountenance all proceedings calculated even remotely to bring about a violation of the law. We may lose today, we may lose the day after, but if our cause is based on justice and truth, it is bound to succeed in the long run."[51] "The great struggle, the constitutional struggle", declared Mr. Banerjea, "for our rights and privileges has commenced...the struggle which must end in the achievement of self-government for the people of this country."[52] But it should be kept in mind that Mr. Banerjea's terminology "self-government" was never synonymous with independence, in the sense of India becoming a sovereign State. On the contrary Mr. Banerjea could only envisage that when India would eventually attain a status of self-government comparable to that of the self-governing dominions, this stage would "mark the perpetual union" between England and India.[53] He repeatedly stressed that the aim of attaining self-government for India was to secure the permanence of British rule, "upon the broad basis of the nation's affection."[54] He explicitly contended, "It is not severance that we are looking forward to, but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire which has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions."[55] Mr. Banerjea could never think to be disloyal to England and her rule.[56] At the height of the Ilbert Bill agitation, he repeated and emphasised that England was here to make India the home of a civilization even nobler than what had marked the dawn of her early history. To a Government with such a purpose and with such a destiny Indians should not be un-

51. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 226, May, 1880.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 7, April, 1876.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 85.
56. *Ibid.*

faithful or disloyal.[57] Thus it is clear that Western ideas and institutions made a strong impact on Banerjea who became moderate in his political view. He made requests and demands for bringing Indian unity and political reforms. Along with him the Congressmen also desired the permanence of British rule in India and to gain a share in the administration of its Government.[58]

Thus the intelligentsia section to which Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Surendra Nath Banerjea belong, stood for change in every sphere of national life. But it was not averse of British association or tutelage, for the time, to enable the Indian people to be trained for parliamentary democracy and assuming Government in their hands. The new leadership, created by English educated Indians, gave a new direction to the Indian struggle for freedom and stood for gradualness, moderation and constitutionalism in political progress. The mode, as told already, of political operation adopted by the Western educated community, initially was that of petitions and appeals for reform in administration and removing the local grievances of the Indians.

But Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, stood against Western influences. He was the first reformer to depart from this tradition and gave an indigenous orientation to Indian nationalism. His Arya Samaj, established in 1875 at Bombay, set into motion strong religious, social and even political movements embodying a close and intimate reference to the past glory and cultural heritage of India and reacted against Western influences. Swami Dayananda gave a new impetus to Indian nationalism. He aimed at the creation of an Indian Nation not by the influence of the Western civilization, education and religion but by establishing an Indian religion and culture common in all over India.[59] Uptil now the Indian reformers and thinkers were guided by Western thoughts and ideas. Though the Brahma Samaj under Raja

57. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, *The Civil Service*, Lahore, p. 67, May 8, 1884.

58. *Reports of the First, I.N.C., Bombay*, 1885, pp. 7-8.

59. Majundar, R.C., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Ram Mohan Roy and Keshav Chandra Sen had played an important role in the social and religious movements, yet it was not based on Indian line. No doubt, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a true representative of the spirit of his age and Keshav Chandra Sen proclaimed a new gospel of personal freedom and social equality which reacted very powerfully upon the growing national consciousness and the new political aspirations of Young Bengal, but the Brahma Samaj was not in a position to satisfy the new urge and began to lose its popularity by 1875. India, at this time, needed a movement that would prove her equal of, if not superior to Europe in the domain of culture.[60] There arose a conflict between the new generation of English educated people and the British officialdom and out of this conflict rose a new national outlook and consciousness which gradually began to refuse the superiority of Western culture. This new nationalism found at first expression in Bengal literature. Bankim Chandra was the prophet of this nationalism who started 'Banga Darshan' in 1872. Under the leadership of Bankim Chandra, the English educated people such as Dinbandhu Mitra, Akshaya Chandra Sarkar, Tara Prasad Banerjee, R. K. Banerjee and many others provoked an intellectual war throughout India.[61] As a consequence the Western influence began to slacken and reaction set in the shape of a strong social and religious revival. The love for Europe was being replaced by love for India. Naturally this revivalist spirit of the followers of Bankim Chandra created hatred between Englishmen and Anglicised Indians. Swami Dayananda, thus appeared at the political, social and religious stage of India at the time when the craze for the way of the West was at its highest, racial arrogance of the ruling classes was blowing hot, and the new generation of English educated revivalist under Bankim Chandra was emerging in which revivalist cult echoed in the writings of Bankim Chandra, found a bold champion. He stood India for Indians and started a revival current of thought which may be called "Indian Nationalism". 'National re-construction on national

60. Pal, B.C., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 230.
61. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

lines was the fundamental cry of the founder and his Samaj.[62]

From religious, cultural and political points of view, Dayananda Saraswati gave an indigenous orientation to Indian nationalism. His aim was to rally India against the encroaching inroads of Christianity and Islam and to obtain defence for her own traditional line of thought as divinely inspired by the Vedas. He maintained a deep seated conviction that "Aryan was the chosen people, Vedas the chosen gospel, India the chosen land."[63] Accordingly he was not ready to tolerate any attack of the missionaries. During his time Dayananda Saraswati was confronted by a variety of faiths which were destroying the national glory. The Christianity, Islam and even the Hinduism presented before him a great problem. Dayananda Saraswati tried to solve this religious problem. He became finally emancipated from the authority of the Brahmanism in some such way as Martin Luther became emancipated from the authority of the Church at Rome. The watchword of Luther was 'Back to the Bible': the watchword of Dayananda was 'Back to the Vedas.'[64] With this religious watch-word, another watch-word was implicitly, if not explicitly, combined namely 'India for the Indians.'[65] Swami Dayananda, thus, desired that religion as well as the sovereignty of India ought to belong to Indians. In order to accomplish the first, Indian religion was to be reformed and purified by a return to the Vedas, and foreign religions as Islam and Christianity were to be extirpated. With regard to the second end, the founder of the Samaj taught that a return to the pure teachings of the Vedas would gradually fit the people of India for self-rule and that independence would ultimately come to them.[66] "He was a dreamer of splendid dreams", says Mr. Griswold in his lucid article, "and he had a vision of India purged of her super-

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62. Lal, Magan; Buch, A., *Rise and Growth of Indian Nationalism,* p. 6.

63. Macdonald, Ramsay, *The Awakening of India,* p. 37.

64. Griswold, H.D., *The Problem of the Arya Samaj,* p. 1. (A paper read by Griswold at the Mussoorie Conference on Sept. 26, 1901).

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

stitions, filled with the fruits of science, worshipping one God, fitted for self-rule, having a place in the sisterhood of nations, and restored to her ancient glory. All this was to be accomplished by throwing over-board the accumulated superstitions of the centuries and returning to the pure and inspired teachings of the Vedas."[67]

As regards the extirpation of the foreign faiths, Dayananda wrote in his *Satyartha Prakash.* The sections of the *Satyartha Prakash* make a criticism of Christianity and Islam. The Founder and his Samaj aroused a sense of nationalism among Indians through the Suddhi movement and the gospel of theism in which the foreign faiths found in them their greatest foes.[68] Dayananda fearlessly expressed that the Hindu religion was a confident assertion of supreme manhood, an assertion full of dignity and independence. It would tower high above other faiths, inasmuch as its teachings elevating and energising as no other great faith.[69] In his cry 'Back to the Vedas', we find that he believed to be the original Hindu conception of God and the universe.[70] Such indigenous religion sponsored by the Swami completely left the tradition and became a means to the achievements of national ends, and by responding inwardly to those dynamic forces that were making the nation. Thus the Arya Samaj organisation was to establish the Hindu supremacy thereby inculcating in the youth of the land, the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. Mr. Valentine Chirol observes: "The Arya Samaj...represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally a revolt against Western ideals, for in the teachings of its founder, it has found an aggressive Gospel which bases the claims of Aryan, i.e., Hindu supremacy on the Vedas, as the one ultimate source of human and divine Wisdom."[71] To strengthen the Hindu religion the Samaj accepted and purified the individual and received him

67. *Ibid.,* p. 2.
68. Jones, J.P., *India, Its Life and Thoughts,* pp. 403-404.
69. Sarda, Har Bilas, *Hindu Superiority,* p. 389.
70. Scott, Roland W., *Social Ethics in Modern Hinduism,* p. 38.
71. Chirol, Valentine, *Indian Unrest,* p. 27.

into the Arya brotherhood, be he Mohammedan or Christian. In this respect the Samaj was modern, Indian and Cosmopolitan.[72] The Christianity and Islamic universalism is based upon the universality and infallibility of the Christian and Islamic scriptures, viz., the Bible and Quran. It was upon this infallibility of the Vedas that he wanted to build up the Hindu society and the Hindu nation. He, therefore, did not give importance to the Bible and Quran and took the Vedas of ancient India to weaken the Western influence. And this indigenous orientation became a great force in arousing the spirit of nationalism in India. Though the Islam and Christianity opposed the Samaj in religious field, yet "Dayananda jerked off the cobra twisting round his leg, and with a single movement (Shuddhi) crushed the reptile's head."[73]

In the cultural field also Dayananda Saraswati did not accept the Western influence. According to him Indians were rich in culture. They were the original teachers of mankind who civilized the whole world and their country, Aryavarta, was the sacred land of civilized humanity. The Aryas carried dharma. truth and enlightenment to the remotest corner of the world, all over Asia, Europe, Africa and America.[74] But with the lapse of time decline set in amongst them. Indians lost the knowledge of the Vedas and the culture of India. The knowledge of Sanskrit declined; true Dharma became rare. And the term 'Arya'. once a term denoted nobility, culture and greatness, gave place the 'Hindu' which with the passage of time became synonymous with 'the weak and the feeble.'[75] The people who taught philosophy and science to the Greeks and the Egyptians and religion to the whole world fell a victim to foreign invaders inferior to them in civilization, culture and refinement. Dayananda believed that "Indian civilization in all its branches—religion, education, art, industry, home-life and Government is healthy, spiritual, beautiful and good. It has become corrupted in the course of centuries, but that is largely the result of cruelty

72. Griswold, H.D., *op. cit.,* Int.
73. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume,* p. 335.
74. *Ibid.,* pp. XXVII-XXIV, Int.
75. *Ibid.*

and aggression of the Mohammedans in former times and now of the British. The Indian patriot must toil to restore Indian life and civilization."[76] On the other hand he also believed that "Western civilization in all its parts—religion, education, art, business and Government—is gross, materialistic and therefore degrading to India. The patriotic Indian must recognise the grave danger lurking in every element of Western influence, must hate it, and must be on his guard against it."[77]

The Swami also provoked something of a revolt against foreign educational system and education in the wake of which followed the national consciousness. The ancient Indians had attained the amount of scientific knowledge and were rich in the domain of this knowledge. They had done pioneering work in mathematics. chemistry and medicine centuries before most of the modern people of the world ever awoke to civilized life. The Arya Samaj under the leadership of the Swami idealised India's past knowledge even to the fantastic extent of claiming that all knowledge, scientific, social and spiritual was achieved by Aryans and lay deposited in the Vedas. Dayananda was of opinion that at least in matters of religion and in the domain of philosophy the best modern Europeans thought did not come up to the level of the best ancient Hindu thought. He even believed that the people of Egypt, Greece and the Continent of Europe were without a trace of learning before the spread of knowledge from India.[78] He, therefore, warned Hindus that inhabiting the land of the Vedas they had no right to sink into mere imitators of European modes of thoughts. The Swami tried to found the educational reform revival on indigenous lines. He went against the principle of imparting education through a foreign medium. He held that, "English learning may be good, English culture may be good, their philosophy may be good...but each one of these helps to rivet the fetters of our servitude."[79] He, therefore, accepted that "Education must have its roots deep down in national sentiment

76. Quoted in Chirol, V, *India Old and New*, p. 121.

77. *Ibid.*

78. Saraswati Dayananda, *Light of Truth* (Eng. Tr. of *Satyartha Prakash* by C. Bhardwaja), p. 238.

79. Ronaldshay, Lord, *The Heart of the Aryawarta*, p. 58.

and tradition. We are the heirs of an ancient civilization....In our curriculum, Hindu ethics and metaphysics will occupy a foremost place."[80] He was of opinion that education should be the best means to ensure the advancement of people and to preserve their existence.[81] Some people were of opinion that western education had rescued their fellow countrymen from the abyss of ignorance and that it would breed among the people virtues which would help the country to obtain self-government one day. They held that the English language was essential for the development of the country's trade and for promoting union in the ranks of the people, and that its disappearance from the land would place a great obstacle in the way of progress of the nation.[82] They were, therefore, under the impression that it was impossible for natives to get another liberal and sympathetic government like the British Government so far as education was concerned.[83] Raja Ram Mohan was the supporter of this view but Dayananda stood against it and held that the prevailing system of English education was a deadly poison and not the elixir of life to the nation. The dissemination of such views, according to him, was highly injurious to the interest of the country. It had been dragging the people down and not raising them up. So far from making them fit for self-government it had been stripping them of those habits and virtues which enable a nation to rule itself. It had been killing the soul of the people, making them irreligious, creating disunion in their ranks, stripping them of their sense of self-respect and looking their love for their national history. Furthermore Natives trained under the English educational system lacked a sense of national honour, as also patriotism and strength of will. They were taught such books which taught them flattery and made them disloyal to their own nation. At the same time this system also constituted a danger for the Hindu religion and was calculated to promote the cause

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80. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

81. *The Hindustan;* "National Education", an article by Lala Har Dayal, 15 May, 1908. Also Native Newspapers, Punjab, 1908, pp. 318-319.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

of the Christianity in India.[84] It was also a mistake to suppose that the English language would help Indians in the unification of India. Materials for the national unity, according to the Swami, should be found within the country and should not be borrowed from outside and such materials are available in the Vedas. "The progress of moral feelings and naional spirit", Dayananda holds, "depends upon the study of the Vedas and the national history of ancient India. Hence an Indian should study Vedas in Sanskrit and not Bible in English."[85] Thus from Dayananda College a new orientation of education. namely a national education in place of an European emerged which laid down that "Education must be so imparted that the pupils may become the best possible members of their community. The bond uniting the individual and the national community must be strengthened. To produce the highest type of a socialized and civilized individual the Swami said that all artificial distinctions of the rich and the poor, the prince and the peasant, the Brahmin and the Shudra ought to be levelled up. According to him knowledge was the birthright of every human being and should be denied to none on account of colour or sex as the British Government do.[86] It is the study of the Vedas which teaches young men of sacrificing themselves to preserve the honour of their ancestors and binds together the different races inhabiting a country.

From political point of view also Swami Dayananda was indigenous. He did not seek any help from the West for bringing reform in Indian society. He believed in his Indian method and thought that it was useless to give petitions, hold meetings and request Government for making reform. He wanted to bring reform on the principle of the Vedas. With a clear sighted vision of truth and courage of determinism he preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous awakenment of mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India when it revealed the personality in free-

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84. *Selections from the Native Newspapers, Punjab*, 1908, pp. 418-419.

85. *Ibid.*

86. Bhan, Suraj, *Dayananda: His Life and Work*, p. 126.

dom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation.[87] He did not directly concern himself with what is popularly known as politics. Like an expert and a far-sighted gardener, he busied himself in looking after the Indian soil and its sowing.[88] His patriotism did not consist in criticising Government measures and glibly discussing politics. He thought useless to quarrel with a grown up tree or its products. He abstained from dealing with the top, but like a sage and a seer as he was, he occupied himself with working at the root. He realised that all political troubles were due to want of character amongst his countrymen.[89] He rightly believed that "If Indians become physically strong, religiously pure and socially simple, their political emancipation will follow."[90] In his opinion strong, honest and truthful men with high character could not remain political slaves for a long time.[91] With this convention, Swami Dayananda applied himself heart and soul to his religious and social works and tried to raise the moral of Indians. He loved Indians with all the fervour of Mazzini and Wallace. He came to the world He once said, "The world is fettered by the chain forged by superstition and ignorance. I have come to snap asunder that not only to set India free but slaves of the whole world at liberty. chain and to set slaves at liberty."[92] Thus Dayananda laid stress on the importance of the reform on indigenous lines. At the same time his nationalism was to be no beggar at anybody's door. India had her own priceless heritage to offer to anybody who had anything to contribute to her regeneration.

Dayananda's radical views gave a new shape and creed to Indian nationalism. The apostles of this new creed were Bal Gangadhar Lokmanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghosh and the ground for them was pre-

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87. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume*, p. 3.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*

pared by Dayananda.[93] The Tilak-school, which emerged from Dayananda-school, began to change the political outlook of the English educated Indians and played an important role in national movement in the twentieth century. This new leadership of Tilak-school desired a radical change, a revolution in the system of Government which was expressed by the term "Swaraj" or Self-Government or Home Rule which it now demanded, and which became the goal of Indian political progress. This new school demanded social equality and political emancipation as its birth-right. The leaders of this school drew sustenance from India's heritage and appealed to Indians by invoking religious patriotism.[94] Unlike Raja Ram Mohan Rai and Surendra Nath Banerjea, they rejected the idea of England's providential mission in India as an illusion. Tilak with his radical friends stood against English loyalty and held that revolution was but rapid evolution in place of gradual reform. They did not use English political ideas as their weapons for arguments and petitions but employed speech and pen in their weapons for concessions and abhorred the use of the sword.[95] They bolstered up India's past and advocated militant struggle, not debate. At the same time they regarded the British Government of India as a system of despotic alien rule and strove to free India from British rule.[96]

93. Ahlliwalia, M.M., *op. cit.*, Int., p. XI.

94. Argov, Daniel, *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian Nationalist Movement,* Int., pp. XI-XII.

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

Indigenous Nationalism of the Arya Samaj

The views of Swami Dayananda were radical and militant. To quote Dr. Singh, "No doubt Dayananda was a militant nationalist and was always prepared to pay back the Christian missionaries in their own coins, but he was as great an opponent of Hindu orthodoxy as of the denationalising faiths."[1] His militant views are more clearly evident from the following tribute which was paid by Romain Rolland at the expiry of the Great Soul: "Dayananda Saraswati was a personality of the highest order. This man with the nature of a lion is one of those whom Europe is too apt to forget when she judges India but whom she will probably be forced to remember to her cost for he was that rare combination, a thinker of action with a genius of leadership. Dayananda transfused into the languid body of India his own formidable energy, his certainty, his lion's blood. His words rang with heroic power. Dayananda would not tolerate the abominable injustice of the existence of untouchables and nobody has been a more ardent champion of their outraged rights. Dayananda Saraswati was the most vigorous force of the immediate and present action in India at the moment of the re-birth and re-awakening of the national consciousness. He was one of the most ardent prophets of reconstruction and of national organisation. I feel that it was he who kept the vigil."[2] In the

1. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

2. *'Arya Samaj at a Glance'*, a pamphlet published by S.A.P.S., New Delhi, p. 15.

Also Rolland, Romain, *The Prophets of the New India*, p. 97.

words of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, "He was a limb of the church militant; austere, independent, dogmatic and puritanical was his character, and he imparted those qualities to his followers. You meet them...today in Lahore, their capital city, dour and determined, ready to sacrifice and be sacrificed, propagandists of an accomplished order. They are indeed the Puritans of Hinduism and it is well for us to remember that puritanism becomes political only under an intolerable Government."[3] Under the leadership of the Swami the Arya Samaj learnt the radical views of its founder and later on it became radical in all its achievements. From its very birth it began to influence almost every department of human life in India. There was hardly any political, religious or social movement of the country which did not owe its vital inspiration to the Arya Samaj. The Samaj was just like the earth's gravitation which, though invisible and imperceptible, pervaded all activities and affected all movements.[4] This radical society was not a secret society. To bring a revolution in society and religion of India, it kept its door opened. Its literature was open to all, not a word that was regarded too sacred for public hands. Several religious formulas which were held too holy for impious ears and whose secrecy is even now observed in many quarters, had been brought by the Arya Samaj out of hidden recesses and made available to all. Even the people who looked upon the Arya Samaj with a hostile eye borrowed much from it.

Three faiths, i.e., the orthodox Hinduism, the Christianity and the Islam were the great obstacles in the way of the progress of the Arya Samaj. Due to the interference of these faiths the Hindu society too had sunk to almost its lowest points in the 18th century. There was no life and no capacity for progress in the Hindu society. These forces were also highly responsible in disfiguring and disgracing the true nature and spirit of the Hindu religion. Dayananda wanted to remove these obstacles and bring a radical change in all his works.

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3. Quoted in Sarda, Har Bilas; *Life of Dayananda Saraswati—World Preacher*, p. 598.

4. Upadhyay, Ganga Prasad, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj*, Int., pp. 3-4.

Dayananda's age saw the authority of the Brahmins. A Brahmin was all in all in the Hindu religion and an individual had no existence in Hinduism. A Brahmin was the shadow of God and it was the duty of the individual and society to obey his commands as he was in possession of the divine wishes and shadow of God. He was the supreme body of the society, uncontrolled by law, customs and social traditions. His words were law, not the principles of the Vedas and the Puranas. It was he who controlled the whole system of Hindu life, its pantheon of god and goddesses, its dogmas, its philosophy, its rituals, its social, economy and all that pertained thereto. He alone could define religion.[5] The host of Brahmins was responsible for all evils of society and religion. Various rites and ceremonies had been devised and used as accessories only to fulfil the selfish desire of the Brahmins. Multitudinous and mysterious were the ways and practices whereby "forgiveness of sins and redemption, coupled with the guarantee of a passport to heaven after death, were brought about."[6] The simple and spiritual religion and teachings of the Vedas, the philosophical and moral teachings of the Upanishadas, had superseded by what was only an "affair of temples and material sacrifices, of shows and processions, of festivals spread over the whole year in honour of innumerable deities" accompanied by all the paraphernalia of "bells and candles and vestments and ceremonials and incarnations and tunes, unintelligible to those who heard them" and in some cases even to those who uttered them.[7] Besides all these, the Brahmins had monopolised the study of the Vedas.[8] A Shudra was not entitled to listen to the Vedic verses. For him to hear a Vedic verse was the most heinous sin. Other castes were given privilege to hear and study the Vedas but were not allowed to learn them. But even the Brahmins were not familiar with the four Vedas of which they were the master. Majority of the Brahmins were as ignorant of the Vedas as were the other Hindus.

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5. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj* (edited by Sri Ram Sharma), p. 50.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Idol-worship and the rigid caste system were two important bad consequences of this Brahminism which were pushing the Hindu society into the dark well and dividing the society into pieces. This caste system became notoriously rampant and awfully vitiated the national growth of Hindus. Not only was Hindu society divided into four Varnas, Brahmin, Kshattriya, Vaishya and Shudra, each of these had innumerable subjects numbering several hundreds. Such a divided house was sure to fall, whatever its other virtues. The Swami saw the evil, traced it to the root and found that like all other evils of Hinduism monopolised by the Brahmins the evil of caste was also due to some basic misinterpretation of the Vedic principles. The language of the Vedic hymns had ceased to be understood by the masses, and its interpretation became the monopoly of learned families; and this monopoly, like all others, was used by those who enjoyed it for their own aggrandisement. The language that had passed out of common usage acquired an added sanctity. It became a sacred language, and sacred became the Brahmins who alone possessed the key to it, who alone could recite its sacred texts and perform the rites of which they prescribed, and select the prayers which could best meet every distinct and separate emergency in the life of man.

The Christian missionary was the second force which had made great strides in India at the time of the advent of the Swami. The missionary propaganda was in full swing, at least in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.[9] Raja Ram Mohan Rai was under the influence of Christianity and he had also discussed the merits and usefulness of Christianity with Mr. Arnot and Mr. Adam in Calcutta. Hence the Christian propaganda was becoming popular day by day. The missionary under Dr. Alexander Duff was engaged in Christianising Indians and Dr. Duff had made up his mind to establish the supremacy of English language over vernacular as a preliminary to the Christianisation of India.[10] It was the influence of Dr. Duff and also of Mr. Macaulay which enabled Lord William Bentinck's Government to decide that "the great object of the British Government

9. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

10. Chirol, Valentine, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

ought to be the promotion of English literature and science."[11] The missionary opened a number of Schools and Colleges to impart English education by introducing modern education in India, the Britishers thought that the time had arrived when the ancient debt of civilisation which Europe owed to Asia was about to be repaid; and the sciences, cradled in the East and brought to maturity in the West, were now by a final effort to overspread the world.[12] From the establishment of English schools, colleges and universities, the Christian missionary prepared an English education class in India which came mostly under the influence of European thought and culture. The Brahmo Samaj under Raja Ram Mohan Rai began to appreciate the advanced social idealism of modern Europe, particularly of England.

The missionary launched a violent attack against Hindu religious and social institutions. They cited the institutions of rigid caste system, of early marriage, the idolatry and several gods of the Hindus and thereby tried to prove that Indians were unfit to sit in judgment upon a European accused.[13] Several persons began to convert their religion and embrace Christianity. The missionary was so zealous in this work that it even tried to convert Raja Ram Mohan Rai to Christianity. Max Mueller's authority tells thus: "Mr. Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, thought it his duty to convert Ram Mohan Rai to Christianity, and in doing so, he dwelt not only on the truth and excellence of his own religion, but spoke of the honour and repute, the influence and usefulness he would acquire by becoming the Apostle of India and that Raja Ram Mohan Rai expressed his bitter indignation that he should have been deemed capable of being influenced by any consideration but the love of truth and goodness, and he never afterwards visited the Bishop again...."[14] But this conversion was not welcomed by Indian society. A Hindu converted to Christianity was supposed to be completely alienated not only from the religion of his fore-fathers but also

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11. *Ibid.*

12. Trevelyan, C.E., *The Education of the People of India*, p. 168.

13. Pal, B.C., *Memoirs*, Vol. II, Int., pp. LIII-LV.

14. Max Mueller, *Biographical Essays*, p. 24.

from their society. He was popularly believed to have to eat beaf and drink wine, to put on European costume and a hat, and to abuse the religion of his ancestors, their customs and their country.[15]

Christianity also inspired the idea that Englishmen were capable to conquer Indians intellectually and morally. Each and every day Indians were reminded of their inferiority. The Railway, the telegraph and the factory spoke in unmistakable terms both to the educated and the uneducated that Englishmen were far superior to them in the knowledge of natural laws and their application to the convenience of human life. The dreams of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton, and the writings of Bacon attested the intellectual eminence of the ruling people. The perseverance, truthfulness, courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice of Englishmen excited feelings of respect and admiration in the minds of Indian people and Indians in their company felt themselves conquered. The Mission Schools also taught that the superiority of the Europeans over the Indian was the gift of the Sun of God. Besides this, the missionary criticised the evil of Hindu society and proudly pointed to its own community as entirely free from curses. It compared the sacred books of Hindus with Christian scriptures and country with India and proved to the satisfaction of many misguided people that the latter were infinitely superior to the former. It also criticised the Vedas and spread the idea that the Vedas were useless as they only taught the practice of foolish rites.[16]

Like Christianity, the Islam also declared war upon Hinduism and in doing so used the strongest possible language. It attacked the worship of idols by the Hindus and criticised the Vedic rituals. The rituals in the opinion of a Muslim were meaningless.[17] Even the social institutions were criticised by the Muslims. Like the Christian missionary the Islam also tried to convert Hindus into its faith. The Muslims keeping the

15. Pal, B.C., *Memoirs*, Vol. II, Int., pp. LIII-LV.
16. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, pp. 103-105.
17. Natarajan, S., *A Century of Social Reform in India*, p. 26.

Quran in one hand and the sword in the other were ready to convert all Hindus into Islam by spreading their friendly hands before the Christians and English people. During the time of Swami Dayananda Saraswati the rift between Hindus and Muslims was widened too much due to the English people. It was so high that a Musalman was never prepared to see an Arya Samajist. According to the confidential records of the Government the Muslims were incited by the Government to loot the Hindus and to abuse them.[18]

The forces, thus, that Swami Dayananda had to face, may briefly be summed up as follows: (1) The host of Brahmins, who created for themselves a position of supreme authority; (2) the organised forces of Christianity, the followers of which had made it their sacred duty to defend and to disseminate it at all costs; and (3) the ever-active propaganda of Islam, which registered its victories in every nook and corner of the country, almost daily throughout the year without the Hindus realising the extent to which gaining ground.

'Back to the Vedas' was the first radical and militant view in which Swami Dayananda saw the protection of the Hindu community as well as of the country. The only slogan—Back to the Vedas—of the great saint was enough to bring a new and radical change in the life of the people of Aryavarta and to mar the progress and interest of the foreign religions as well as of the indigenous religion, i.e., Hinduism. With this weapon he declared war on the three faiths. He had no greater regard for the Bible, the Quran and the Puranas. He had no pity for any of his fellow countrymen, fellow-foreigners, past or present, who had contributed in any way to the thousand year decadence of India, at one time mistress of the world.[19] He was a ruthless critic of all who had falsified or profaned the true Vedic religion. He had great respect for the Vedas in which he saw the medicines of all diseases. He had been taught by his Guru in the following words: "The Vedas have long ceased to be taught in Bharatvarsha, go and teach them; teach the true Shas-

18. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, July, 1907, Nos. 39-177, NAI.

19. Rolland, Romain, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

tras and dispel, by their light, the darkness which the false creeds have given birth to. Remember that, while works by common men are utterly misleading as to the nature and attributes of one true God, and slander the great Rishis and Munis, those by the ancient teachers are free from such a blemish. This is the test which will enable you to differentiate the true, ancient teaching from the writings of ordinary men."[20] His Guru, Virjananda, a blind scholar, was a farsighted man who regarded the Vedas the only true book of the world. According to the advice of his Guru, Swami Dayananda started to popularise the Vedas. According to the sixth creed of the Arya Samaj, "The primary object of the Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and social condition of mankind."[21] And it was possible, according to Dayananda, only with the study of the Vedas. So he wanted to convert not only India but also the whole world to his faith.[22]

Then with the ardent and radical slogan of 'Back to the Vedas', Dayananda and his Samaj tried their best to emancipate the Hinduism from the monopoly and authority of the Brahminism. Dayananda appealed from the Brahmanical church and the authority of Smriti to the earliest and most sacred of Indian scriptures. The Swami was a kind of Indian Eligah or John the Baptist, who felt himself called to return the hearts of the degenerate children of modern India to their fathers of the glorious Vedic age, to reconcile the present with the past.[23] Dayananda studied not only the past but also the present, not only the thought of India as embodied in the Vedas and Upanishadas. Shastras and Epic, but also the thought of Europe as embodied especially in the devices of modern science, everywhere manifest in India such as railroads, telegraphs and other mechanical inventions. He finally arrived at a scheme for reconciling the present with the past, the West with the East.[24] The refor-

20. Singh, Bawa Chhajju, *Dayananda's Life*, p. 77.

21. Dayananda's, *The Commentary on the Vedas*, Int.

22. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

23. Griswold, H.D., *"The Arya Samaj"*, a paper read by the author in Victoria Institute, on Jan. 19, 1903.

24. *Ibid.*

mation of Hinduism, thus, took a militant phase. The powerful propaganda of the Swami for the Vedic religion acted a double-edged sword. It purified the Hindu religion of its superstitious beliefs and of the evils and at the same time worked to bring about a closer relationship among the different sections of the Hindus.[25] When Dayananda started his campaign to purify Hinduism and to bring about a closer relationship among the different sections of the Hindus, orthodoxy was also better organised. The Sanatan Dharma Rakshini Sabha[26] was formed in Calcutta in 1873 and in 1884, Pandit Sashdhar Tarakachuramani held many meetings in defence of popular Hindu ceremonialism and image worship and current Hindu social institutions.[27] The Hindu Dharma Mahamandal was formed in 1890 which "aimed at stifling liberty of thought in religion. Orthodoxy was its motto and idolatry was the highest form of religion it aspired to."[28] A number of other societies were formed. Sanatan Dharma Sabha in Hardwar and Delhi was formed by Dindayal and a number of Pandits. The Nigmagadma Mandali movement was started by Swami Gyananandaji in Mathura in 1896. Dyananda Saraswati faced all these orthodox societies.

Dayananda stood against the idolatry. The worshipper of Shiva[29] began to worship God and recognised Shiva as only one of the many names of the Supreme. He not only realised the

25. *The Arya Patrika,* 12 February, 1907.

26. Farquhar, J.N., *op. cit.,* p. 187.

27. Pal, B.C., *Memoirs,* Vol. I, p. 437.

28. I.S.R., Vol. XI, p. 933.

29. Dayananda's father was a devotee to Shiva and he wanted that his son also should worship Shiva. No doubt, Dayananda began to worship this God. But one night of the Shivaratri, he learnt the lesson that Shiva-worship or image-worship was useless. In the temple of Shiva where Mool Shanker and his father had gone to worship Shiva, a common and insignificant incident occurred which changed the course of Mool Shanker. A mouse crept on the body of Shiva, and assured that the image was quite harmless, began to nibble at the offerings placed before the image by the devotees. This launched the boy on a train of earnest thought. He had been informed that the God was omnipotent and omniscient; that the image represented him in all his glory; that it was God Himself;

(Continued on next page)

very idea but preached also. During the year 1866, he came in contact with various missionaries and had long conversation with them. The same year finds him not only preaching against idolatry at Hardwar, but telling the pilgrims there that sacred spots and ceremonial bathing are of no religious value whatsoever, and denouncing the great Vaishnava book, the Bhagavata Puran, as immoral. The great reformer the Swami rejected idolatry entirely, not only as a harmless error, but as positively sinful.[30] This idea of the Swami injured the heart of the Brahmins and they began to criticise the young reformer. Dayananda rejected polytheism and advocated that there was only one God with all those attributes generally ascribed to him by monotheists. He was the Creator first of the Vedas, then of the world; hence the Vedas were eternal as compared with the world; but non-eternal compared with God.[31] Now Dayananda wanted to give public exposition of his ideas and for this he talked to the Pandits in Sanskrit and established educational institutions. But his plans failed and then Dayananda made a war on Hinduism by delivering lectures and writing books.[32] This method was more successful. He toured Agra, Gwalior, and Jaipur and tried to prove in every place in discussion with Pandits that idolatry had not the sanction of the Vedas. In April, 1876, he actively preached day and night in Hardwar Fair, condemned idol-worship and denounced pilgrimages with such vehemence as raised a storm of opposition against him.[33] He made other tours and discussions also. One of the greatest discussions was held at Benaras under the auspices of the Maha-

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and that it had the power to bless or curse men. What he saw, however, was evidently an inanimate object which could not even protect itself from the impertinence of a mouse! This, then, could not be the right way to worship, and the image could not be Shiva himself, as was taught by the priesthood.

30. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 34.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Farquhar, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

33. Some Arya Samajists; *Swami Dayananda Saraswati*—A Critical Review of his Career, together with a short life-sketch, pp. XIII-XIV.

raja of Benaras. The subject of the debate was whether the Vedas countenanced idol-worship. Swami Dayananda came with flying colours from this single handed combat with a host of opponents.[34] No doubt Maharaja and his Pandits raised hue and cry to hide their defeat. Pandit Dayananda went on through the paper placed in his hands. The Pandits of Kashi issued writs of excommunication against him; but they fared as the writs of the Pope and his agents had fared in the case of Martin Luther. Passing through all the important stations from Kashi to Calcutta, Dayananda reached the metropolis and there met Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen. He delivered a series of lectures and held a discussion with Keshav Chandra Sen but he did not meet with much success there. On his way back from Calcutta he halted at Allahabad and delivered many lectures there. He, then, reached Bombay where he established first Arya Samaj which continues to exist till now. Thence he went to Poona where he delivered fifteen lectures and created such an alarm among the orthodox Brahmins that they instigated the rabble to attack him.[35] Later on he delivered his lectures in Delhi and Jodhpur. While he was in Delhi he was invited by leading Punjabis to pay a visit to Lahore. He went there and the Arya Samaj movement got a sound footing there.

Connected with the radical view of Back to the Vedas was the attempt for removal of monopoly of the Brahmins. Dayananda felt that the citadel created by the Brahmins was the root of all evils of Hinduism. Therefore, he felt the supreme importance of speaking the truth, the naked truth, and the whole truth.[36] He aimed to shake the very root of citadel. He questioned the authority of the Brahmins merely from right of birth. The Brahmins relied on Manu for their rights and privileges, and the Swami proved, on the authority of Manu himself, that a Brahmin must be versed in the Vedas and a Brahmin who did not reach that standard did not deserve to be treated and respected as such.[37] He quoted chapter and verse in support of

34. *The Hindu Patriot*, Jan. 17, 1870.
35. *The Arya Messenger*, 20 January, 1904.
36. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 52.
37. *Ibid.*

his contention and demonstrated from those very books which the Brahmins relied on, how in ancient times persons not born of Brahmin parents acquired the position of Brahmins by learning and piety, and how those born of Brahmin parents were relegated to lower position in accordance with their personal qualifications.[38] He advocated that Brahmin by birth was just an ordinary man who, on account of his hereditary characteristics, had, perhaps, a better opportunity of becoming a veritable Brahmin than others not so born but with an equal right to become Brahmins if they could manage to acquire the necessary qualifications. He also held that, "It was wrong to worship a Brahmin like God. A Brahmin was nothing but a leader, a teacher, a guide, a preceptor and a philosopher."[39] The Swami also stood against the monopoly of the Brahmins on the Vedas and called upon all people, regardless of caste and creed, to study the Vedas. It is due to this great revolutionary soul, the Vedas, at present, are being read, studied and commented upon by all classes of Hindus. This was the greatest service rendered by Dayananda to the cause of religious and intellectual as well as social freedom in India and this alone entitled him to be called the Saviour of the Hindu India.[40]

The Swami also stood against the wrong interpretation given by the Brahmins to the Vedic scriptures. In Vedic scriptures the names of four Varnas are mentioned. There is an equivocation about the word Varnas. Varna primarily means choice or vocation from the Sanskrit root 'Vri' to choose or pick up. Thus it means the choice of a place in the social corporate life by an individual according to his capacity and liking. There is a spontaneous division and co-ordination of labour and just necessary for social consolidation.[41] But the Varna has a secondary meaning too. It means colour which came to be accepted by the Brahmins later on. This Varna in the meaning of colour became the basis of casteism in India. Dayananda did not accept

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38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

41. Upadhyay, Ganga Prasad: *Social Reconstruction by Buddha and Dayananda*, p. 109.

this caste system on the basis of colour. He proved on the basis of a mantra of the Yajur Veda[42] that the whole society was nothing but a body with four distinct divisions, face, arms, thighs and feet. Just as they function differently for the well-being of the whole body as well as for themselves, just so a human society needs four kinds of persons, wisdom-loving, glory-loving, wealth-loving and easy going ordinary men. Those who perform the first duty are Brahmins; those who protect are Kshattriyas; those who increase wealth are the Vaishyas and those who are mere auxiliaries are the Shudras. In other words, some men fitted for the work were set aside by the State for the prosecution of worship, science and literature; others to guard the outward peace and internal order of the State; others to carry on trade and till the ground; again others to do all the meaner kinds of labour.[43] So there were four Varnas only which should not be recognised as castes. This the reformer considered only as a political institution made by the rulers for the common good of society, and not a natural or religious distinction. The castes were simply different professions of guilds, established by the State to guard against confusion and mutual interference, and for the better accomplishment of the different works. Dayananda holds that if a man born in a Shudra family possesses the merits, actions and temperaments of a Brahmin, a Kshattriya, or a Vaishya, he becomes a Brahmin, a Kshattriya or a Vaishya, as the case may be. Similarly a man born in a Brahmin, Kshattriya, or Vaishya family should become a Shudra if his merits,

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42. ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीत् वाहू राजन्यः कृतः,
ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यो पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ।

— (Yajur Veda XXXII-10)

The hitherto accepted mistranslation was this: The Brahmins were born from the mouth of Brahma, the Kshattriyas from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs and the Shudra from the feet. Dayananda says that it is absurd. God has no mouth, no arms, no thighs, no feet. His correct interpretation is this: The Brahmins occupy the same position in the society as the mouth in the body, the Kshattriya that of arms and so on.

— (*Satyartha Prakash*, Chapter IV).

43. Saraswati, Dayananda, *Light of Truth* (Eng. Tr. of *Satyaratha Prakash* by Ganga Prasad Upadhyay), p. 129.

actions and temperaments are Shudra-like.[44] It means that a man or a woman should belong only to that Varna for which he or she is fit.

Swami Dayananda believed that the Vedas, being the knowledge imparted by God for the benefit and guidance of mankind. contained germs of knowledge of all kinds useful to man in his life, germs of the various sciences and arts which we see developed in the world today. In other words the Vedas were the roots of all wisdom and knowledge and will remain for ever. In his commentary on the Vedas and in his Rig Vedadi Bhashya Bhumika, Dayanada quoted mantras containing such germs. This view of the Swami derived support from the fact that: (a) the Vedas were not man-made but Divine and were given for the guidance of mankind; and (b) that the Divine purpose was to help man. Dayananda, undoubtedly, was the first man after nearly five thousand years to extricate the Vedas from a confused mass of Sanskrit religious literature, and studied them with the aid of Vedic grammar and Vedic lexicon pertaining to the language of the pious Vedas, and placed before mankind the result of his study. His was the first attempt in modern times to interpret the Vedas on the right lines. His claim that the Vedas contain the germs of various knowledge of sciences and arts, is neither unreasonable nor fantastic. Shri Aurobindo Ghosh, in his contribution, *Bankim, Tilak and Dayananda*, holds the opinion that "Dayananda affirms that the truths of modern physical science are discoverable in the hymns. Here we have the sole point of fundamental principle about which there can be any justifiable misgivings. I confess my incompetence to advance any settled opinion in the matter. But much needs to be said that his ideas are increasingly supported by the recent trend of our knowledge about the ancient world. The ancient civilization did possess secrets of science some of which modern knowledge has recovered, extended and made more rich and precise but others are even now not recovered. There is then nothing fantastic and in Dayananda's idea that the Veda contains truth of religion and knowledge of sciences and arts...."[45] Again he says, "If the Vedic

44. *Ibid.*
45. Ghosh, Aurobindo, *Bankim, Tilak and Dayananda*, p. 67.

god-heads express the powers of a Supreme Deity who is a Creator, Ruler and Father of the Universe, then there must inevitably be in the Veda a large part of cosmology, the law of creation and of cosmos. Dayananda asserts the presence of such a cosmic element : he finds in the Veda the secrets of the Creation and law of Nature by which the Omniscient governs the world."[46]

In the words of Mr. E.D. Maclagan the Vedas contain the basic principles of all the sciences and by accepting this he also supports Dayananda Saraswati.[47] The Vedas, being Divine revelation, expound the laws of existence in its various departments, which precludes the mention of persons and places. The knowledge of cosmology among other things must relate to the size and the shape of the earth and the nature and the function of the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, and other planets, their relation to one another and their movements. Among the laws of cosmology is the law of gravitation and the annual and diurnal motions of the Earth round the Sun and round its axis respectively. The latter are thus revealed in the Rig Veda as follows: "All bodies, the Sun, the Moon and the Earth, etc., revolve in their orbits. The Earth in its orbit revolves round the Sun. She supplies the living beings with abundant juices and fruits of various kinds and fulfils the fixed laws of her motion."[48] Regarding the revolution of planets and others, the Yajur Veda says that "All bodies, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, etc., revolve in their orbit in the cosmos. The waters (oceans) are like the mother of earth, and the Sun is like earth's father. She revolves round the Sun. Air is the father of sun and space, and Ether its mother. The Sun revolves in them. All bodies are supported by air and are made to revolve by air and its power

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46. Quotd in Sarda, Har Bilas, *Life of Dayananda Saraswati—World Preacher*, p. 396.

47. *Census of India*, 1891, Vol. XIX, p. 175.

48. Rig Veda. 8.2.10.1. The Mantra runs as follows:

या गौर्वर्त्तनिं पर्य्येति निष्क्रृतं पयोदुहाना व्रतनीरवारतः ।
सा प्रब्रुवाणा वरुणाय दाशुषे देवेभ्यो दाशद्धविषा विवस्वते ॥

of attraction."[49] The Attiriya Brahman also explains that the Sun never sets and never rises.[50] The Atharva Veda teaches that the Moon is dependent on the Sun for its light.[51] The Rig Veda says that the Moon revolves round the Earth and sometimes in the course of her journey comes between the Earth and the Sun (eclipse). The mantra says that both the luminous bodies like the sun and the dark bodies like the moon and the earth are always in motion.[52] The Rig Veda also says that the various heavenly bodies are kept stable in their places rendered habitable by the power of attraction of the glorious Sun.[53] Again Rig Veda Ash 4, Adh. 5. V. 10, M. 3 and Yajur Veda, Adh. 33, M. 43 mention the law of attraction and the fact that colour and form are made visible by the rays of the Sun. Swami Dayananda, in the *Rig Vedadi Bhashya Bhumika,* quotes several verses of the Rig Veda and Yajur Veda and says that they allude to the science of Geometry and Algebra. In his '*Introduction to the Veda Bhashya*', Swami Dayananda discusses the question of ocean-going steamers, airships and steam-driven cars on land.[54] He says that men should construct three kinds of conveyances

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49. Yajur Veda: 3.6. The Mantra is thus:
आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीदसदन्मातरं पुरः ।
पितरं च प्रसन्त्स्वः ।

50. Haug's Attiriya Brahman, Vol. II, p. 242. This is the Mantra:
अयं यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते रात्रेरेव तदन्तमित्वाथात्मानं
विपर्यस्यतेऽहरेवावस्तात् कुरुते रात्रिं पुरस्तात् । स वा एष न
कदाचन निम्लोचति न ह वै कदाचन निम्लोचति ।

51. Atharva Veda: 14.1.1. The Mantra is:
दिवि सोमो अधिश्रितः

52. Rig Veda: V.6.4.1.3.3. The following is the Mantra:
त्वं सोम पितृभिः संविदानोऽनुद्या वा पृथिवी आ ततन्थ ।
तस्मै त इन्द्रो हविषा विधेम वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणाम् ।।

53. Rig Veda, 6.1.6.5.
यदा सूर्यममुं दिवि शुक्र ज्योतिरधारयः
आदित्ते विश्वा भुवनानि येमिरे ।

54. *Dayananda's Works.* Centenary Edition, Vol. II, p. 466.

for three places—land, water and the heaven—cars worked by steam for land, steamers and boats for the ocean and airships for the high heaven. These conveyances are to be built with silver, iron and copper. "Oceans should be crossed by steamers as the mind travels with great speed so men should manufacture cars for the ocean and the skies, which will travel fast and cover spaces."[55] Certain mantra of the Rig Veda imparts the knowledge of electric currents which developed into telegraphy later on.

Certain names and phrases used in the Vedas and other Arsha literature contain knowledge of scientific facts. Saturn is described as Suryaputra, son of the Sun. Lightning is called 'Indra Vajra', the bolt of electricity. But unfortunately the Dhanur Veda (the science of war) as well as the literature on the subject have been lost and it is not known how the engines of war developed from the germs mentioned in the Vedas, but this science had made a great progress in ancient India. The Greek writer Themistus mentions, "the Indian fighting at a distance with lightning and thunder."[56] Alexander the Great mentions the terrific flashes of flame which he saw showered on his army in India. Philostratus says that Hindus drove their enemies away by means of tempests and thunders sent down from Heaven.[57] Similarly the Rockets were also in use in India. Prof. Wilson, an eminent scholar, is of opinion that Rockets are of Indian origin and had long been used in Indian armies when the Europeans came in contact with them. The Ramayan mentions it. Ctesias, Elian and Philostratus speak of an oil manufactured by Hindus and used in warfare in destroying walls and battlements of towns.[58]

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55. Rig Veda, 1.8.8.3.8.

तुग्रोह भुज्युमश्विनोदमेघे रयिं न कश्चिन्ममृवां अवाहा: ।
तमूह त्थुनैंभिरात्मन्वतीभिरन्तरिक्षप्रद्भिरपोदकाभि: ॥
तिस्त्रं क्षपस्त्रिरहाति व्रजद्भिर्नासित्या भुज्युमूहथु: पतङ्गै: ।
समुद्रस्य धन्वान्नार्द्रस्य पारेत्रिभी रथै: शतपद्भिषलश्वै: ॥

56. Quoted in Sarda, Har Bilas, *Life of Dayananda Sarawati—World Preacher*, p. 401.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Sarda, Har Bilas, *Hindu Superiority*, p. 310.

This does not mean that the Vedas contain all the theory and practice of what modern science has achieved in Europe and America; or that in ancient India. Railways, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, radios, steamer services and aero-travelling existed in the same way and to the same extent as they exist in Europe and America today; or that Machine-guns, Tanks, Bombers, Fighters and Wireless stations and machines were in use as they are in the West at present. Mechanical, chemical and other sciences have made wonderful advance during the last and the present centuries and results have been achieved and yoked to the service of mankind in his ordinary daily life, which to our knowledge did not exist in old days. All that is meant is that the Vedas contain germs and principles of cosmology and the nature and the potential powers of matter and the souls, which men may cultivate and develop to an infinite extent. No one claims that the Vedas possess knowledge of all fully developed sciences or arts. All that is claimed is that they contain knowledge which in the metaphysical sphere is beyond the reach of the senses; and in the sphere of matter such as will enable men to achieve results conducive to his benefit and advance to which no limit can be fixed.

The Vedas also contain the highest philosophic thought that man in the present world has yet conceived; others prepared as Ayur Veda, Dhanur Veda, Artha Veda, Gandharva Veda, which have developed far more fully in modern times and are likely to achieve in future brilliant results not yet dreamt of. These splendid philosophic thoughts were expanded by ancient rishis and munis, seers and thinkers which blossomed forth as Upanisadas.[59] The Veda being divine knowledge has no limit or end to it as conceived by men. Vision and thought when more fully developed by people giving lives in strict accord with the teachings of the Vedas, will no doubt discover higher truths and achieve scientific results, of which we have yet no conception. There is no limit to knowledge. There is neither beginning nor end of things. The world goes on for ever and ever. Dissolution is always followed by Creation, as Creation is ever

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59. Sarda, Har Bilas, *Life of Dayananda Saraswati—World Preacher*, pp. 403-404.

followed by Dissolution. Vedant, or the end of the Vedic knowledge, is a misnomer. Dayananda's knowledge of the Vedas cannot be said to be the last word on the Vedas. All we can say is that this knowledge was right and true. He is the first of the true interpreters of the Vedas in modern times, but not the last. Rishis may yet arise and interpret the divine knowledge more fully. "The Vedas", says Mr. Sarda, "are a shoreless ocean of knowledge: Dayananda is the first scientific and true navigator in that limitless sea in modern times, and those who want a safe and successful voyage will do well to accept his guidance."[60]

Dayananda Saraswati was prepared to accept no indebtedness to the West. He did claim that in matter of religion and in the domain of spirit the Western mind had not attained either the depths or the heights commanded by the ancient Indian mind; and in such matters it still had much to learn from the ancient Indian sages.[61] In matter of the social life also, India had not to borrow from the West. Indian solutions arrived at in ancient times were as good, as sound and as effective, at least, were those arrived at in the West by the best modern thought. India had nothing to learn from the West in the domain of philosophy also. Lala Lajpat Rai says: "The cream of European thought does not yet come up to the level of the cream of Hindu thought. The most modern Western thought is apparently still groping in the dark and endeavouring to scale the heights reached by Indians centuries ago."[62] Physical science was also known to Indians. No doubt, the Europeans were far in advance of the ancient Indians in the realm of physical science,[63] yet it may justly be claimed that most of the fundamental truths on which the superstructure of European science was raised, were known to the Indians. For example it was known to them that the earth was round and that the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars were in motion. The Indians in ancient time had made great progress in military science. They were also the inventors of algebra and decimals

60. *Ibid.*

61. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 110.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

63. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Problem of National Education in India*, pp. 6-8. Also *The Modern Review*, Jan. 1919.

in the field of arithmetic. For centuries the Hindus had believed that plants were in essence as much to be regarded as living creatures as were animals. The European scholars also have admitted the fact that Hindus were fully familiar with anatomy and surgery and chemistry.[64] Dayananda's claim, therefore, rested upon a substantial foundation. His object was to lift the Indians from that slough of despondence into which they had fallen and to provide leverage for the removal of the great burden that lay on their minds. His object was not to give the Hindus matter and occasion for boasting but to raise their status. "He wanted to inspire them", says Lala Lajpat Rai, "with justifiable pride, and with confidence in the enormous value of their heritage so that they might consider it well worth the sacrifices which they might be called upon to make for the preservation of that heritage and for becoming worthy to possess it."[65] Dayananda dreamed of a regenerated India, as spiritual as wise, as noble as learned, as chivalrous as great in every way as in its most glorious past, if not more so, and he wanted his countrymen to proceed to the realisation of that ideal with confidence and fervour. He wanted to aspire the Indians to a role of honour in the comity of nations, to become once more the teachers of Humanity and the upholders of towering and magnificent ideals before mankind. By persuading himself to believe that the most recent inventions of modern science, such as steam-engines and railways were known, at least, in their germs to the poets of the Vedas, he wanted Indians to achieve all this in the spirit of their past, in a spirit of devotion to truth for his own sake, of altruism, and of humility. And this ambitious programme, Dayananda held, could not be realised by mere imitation, by mere dependence on the West, by despising their ancestors and by aping exotic manners and habits.[66] Not on such shifting foundations, but on the primal rock of self-respect and self-help did he desire them to build up their future nationalism, and to rear it thereon in the true spirit of Swajati (own race) and Swadharma (own religion).[67]

64. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 111.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Max Mueller, *Biographical Essays*, p. 170.
67. *Ibid.*

On this very basis, Dayananda said that India was to have her own culture, her own national religion, her own national education and her own national language. As regards India's own culture, he had love for the past. Dayananda's presentation of India's past made the Arya Samaj a revivalist body. The golden age of the Indian culture that he pictured was certainly a thing of the past but he believed and inspired millions to believe that it could be recaptured. During the centuries when India was ruled by Muslim dynasties, Hindus had maintained their superiority. They thought that their culture was the best. Due to this high culture, India had always enjoyed a sense of unity. She was one in the sense in which Catholic Europe was one in the 13th century. Even the impact of the Western civilization in no way upset the ancient course of Indian history. The waves of the Western civilization dashed over the firm rock of Indian culture. India's bonds of unity were more real and true than those derived from the national sentiment, for these bonds that united India were a heritage of the past.[68] Dayananda tried his best to reprepare this culture and he came with a conscious purpose to restore the forsaken Vedic culture and ways. No doubt India was conquered from political point of view, but political conquest is no sure index of a nation's greatness and that Europe should not be blinded by its political supremacy and overlook the real essence of civilization of India that she possesses.[69] Giving stress on the strong foundation of the Eastern civilization, the *Saddharma Pracharak* says: "The Eastern civilization is built on a very strong foundation which can never be shaken by the occidental civilization."[70] The editor of the magazine further predicts that Western civilization, which has come to the front for the present owing to the mere accident of political ascendency, will soon collapse because of its materialistic composition, and will in the end yield to the East. It will be a glorious day for India when the hollowness of occidental civilization will be exposed and the intrinsic merits of oriental civili-

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68. Vyas, K.C., *Social Renaissance in India,* p. 75.

69. *Report on Native Newpapers,* U.P., Part-I, (January-June), 1911, p. 551.

70. *Ibid.*

zation displayed.[71] Hence India should not look towards the Western civilization and she should restore and prepare her own culture and civilization. India was not a barbarous country when the British obtained possession of her, that she had a long, and to some respects a glorious history; that she was never before governed by foreigners from without in the political and economic interests of a nation not living within her territorial limits.[72] In the words of Mr. Rawlinson, "India in the third century B.C. was a highly civilized country; it must, indeed, have compared favourably with the rest of the world of the time; for Greece was sinking fast into the State of corrupt decadence, and Rome, in the throes of her struggle with Carthage, had scarcely yet emerged from Barbarism."[73] Thus India's civilization was rich and splendid. Centuries before the birth of Christ India possessed a marvellous civilization, a wonderful literature, a well-organised social system, a conception of Government based on law and on the legal rights of subjects as well as against the ruling monarch.

India was to have her own national religion also. As Christianity and Islam were making fatal inroads upon Hinduism, Dayanand Saraswati advocated the national religion without which India would cease in course of time to be the land of the Hindus. He was, however, profoundly by what might be called the credal universalism of Christianity and Islam to seek for the foundations of it in his own national religion. This was the real psychology of the doctrine of Vedic infallibility set up by Dayananda, upon which he wanted to build up the Hindu society, the Hindu nation and national religion inspired with a great mission among the people of the world.[74] The *Satyartha Prakash* which contains the teachings of Dayananda clearly states the national religion. Taking national religion into his consideration Dayananda was able to appeal to the social economy of the Vedic Hindu not only to remove the social religious dis-

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71. *Ibid.*
72. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Young India,* Int., p. 9.
73. Quoted, *Ibid.,* p. 11.
74. Pal. B.C., *Beginning of the Freedom Movement in India,* p. 38.

abilities but also to claim a social order based upon the teachings of the Vedas which "was from some points of view even superior to the advanced social idealism inspired by the dogma of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of the French Illumination."[75] So according to Dayananda Saraswati, India did not stand in the need of going to Europe either for a purer religion or for a purer social order. This could be found in the ancient scriptures of the people themselves. This was really the beginning of that revolution for national religion and social revival among the Hindus of India to which we owe so largely the birth of our present national consciousness.

Regarding the formation of the national religion there was difference between the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj. The reformers of the Brahmo Samaj tried to purify the old religion of the country. But their whole mental make-up caused them to give their movement a more or less unitarian form. The Brahmo Samaj was not successful in decreasing the influence of Western culture or religion. It was only an intellectual protest against the dogmas, superstitions, and irrationalities of religion. It made no persistent efforts at doing this and at pointing out the imperfections of Western culture. Swami Vivekananda carried his banner forward and preached the superiority of Eastern Spirituality over Western materialism.[76] But it was Dayananda Saraswati who saw the need for a real national religion which would be free from defects and which would unify all diverging forces. His unshaken belief in the Vedas and in the Indian culture based on the national religion caused him to raise the slogan 'Back to the Vedas'. He believed that "the Arya Samaj and the Vedic religion could alone become a national religion. This national religion would be both simple and intellectually appealing. It would, therefore, suit both the common people as well as the intellectual people."[77] The Arya Samaj succeeded in popularising the idea of national religion because it had two factors which inspired people to accept the great qualities of the Vedic religion. One was the magnetic influence of its founder and the

75. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

76. Vyas, K.C., *op. cit.*, p. 83.

77. *Ibid.*

other the practical application of his teaching by the first generation of his followers.[78] Thus the Samaj was a vitalising movement that stood for India's own Vedic religion flourished in England before the Saxons set foot on it and that period of history was so obscure that nationalism could as yet derive no inspiration from it. But when researches in ancient history have brought the past to light, the Arya Samaj religion will be accepted as the revival of ancient lofty national ideal in all lands.[79]

The Swami also held that India was to have her own national education, as well as her own national language. In every country the national education is the best means to ensure the advancement of a people and to preserve their existence. Dayananda, therefore, advocated for the national education and stood against the prevailing system of English education in India.[80] In his opinion the salvation of the country depends upon those people who learn the national education. Lala Lajpat Rai advocated rightly the view of Dayananda in the following words: "If the salvation of the nation has to depend on our English educated countrymen then it will never be achieved. The people must be educated politically."[81] Therefore the Swami and his followers hold that everyone should be educated whether he is a Brahmin or a Kshattriya or a Shudra. The prosperity could not be increased in the kingdom without giving education to each and every individual.[82] According to him religious and moral teaching was the foundation on which the educational edifice ought to be built.[83] He had no sympathy for system of education which neglected the most essential and enduring part of man and which divorced religion from morality. Character-building, which is not found in the English educational system, occupied a prominent place in his scheme of education. But

78. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Arya Samaj* (Preface), p. XIII.

79. *Report on Native Newspapers,* U.P., Part-I, (January-June), 1911, p. 467.

80. *Report on Native Newspapers,* Punjab, 1908, pp. 318-319.

81. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Call to Young India,* p. 100.

82. Saraswati, Dayananda, *The Light of Truth* (Eng. Tr. of the *Satyartha Prakash* by Ganga Prasad Upadhyay), pp. 79-80.

83. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume,* p. 129.

he held that true character-building was not possible unless boys were taught their duty to God and Man. Then the Brahmacharya was the most important organ of his system of education on which the salvation of the country depends. He preached that a long course of 18 years' hard study—say from 7 to 25—demanded a store of energy and vitality in the young which it was impossible for them to possess without enforcing on them a life of celibacy and insistence on chastity and Brahmacharya. This Brahmacharya was the glory of the national system of education: the stress laid on it by Dayananda was unique and unparalleled in the history of any other country. At the same time he held that the State should provide free and universal education not merely up to the primary stage, but for all the 18 years up to the highest stage; in exceptional cases even up to the age of 36 or 48; the State was to provide for the education of the citizen. In short his system was a democratic one. All were equals in the eyes of the teacher.[84]

Regarding the aim of the national education the Swami and his followers held that the first aim of all sound education should be to teach the individual that the growth towards freedom is progress; that every human being is the master of his own destiny; that neither fate nor Karma is above control; that the road to progress lies in the voluntary identification of one self with his or her social group that the nation is that social group with which every person should identify himself or herself; that without this identification progress or growth towards freedom is indeed very difficult if not altogether impossible.[85] Thus the Swami brought a new outlook on life and a new conception of mental training based on national education. He along with the Aryas recognised fully that the development of an independent system of national education must precede all attempts at reconstruction and readjustment of the basis of Indian society. This new attitude and outlook materialised in the Gurukul at Kangri which tries to found an Indian University, Indian in every sense, out of which would arise a new Indian nation breathing the old and sacred atmosphere of the Vedas but tasting and relishing all that is use-

84. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

85. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Problem of National Education in India*, p. 60.

ful and fine in the thought, literature and science of the modern times.[86] Here we should keep in mind that Dayananda did not leave the progressive idea of the world also. An earnest attempt towards a synthesis was made in India by the Arya Samaj of Dayananda. The above mentioned Gurukul at Kangri is the fine example of this synthesis.[87]

Dayananda had a fervent love for India's own language too. English, in his opinion, was a poison which was destroying the Indian life. He directed his followers to spread and promote Hindi.[88] The Arya Samajists accepted his advice and considered it their supreme duty to spread the Arya Bhasha throughout the length and breadth of India.[89] The Arya Samajic educational institutions in the Punjab and U.P. tried to popularise Hindi and even used it as a medium of instruction.[90] Dayananda was a far-sighted nation-builder. He considered Hindi as the best means of advancing national unity which was to emancipate India from the British yoke.

Thus the views of Dayananda were radical and militant which were popularised later on by the Arya Samaj. Taking this militant view in its consideration the Samaj started a movement with a view to enhance the sense of India's past glory among the countrymen. To sum up in the words of Hans Kohn: "...with its radical views, it (The Samaj) sought to bring a new life to India and the Hindu race. As a means to this end it taught that people should study the ancient uncorrupted culture of their race, should turn back to Sanskrit and Vedas, and it fostered a new type of education in the spirit of traditional discipline....In its services the Arya Samaj tried to revive the ancient Vedic ritual. The Brahmo Samaj destroyed the mediaeval India ruled by Brahmans and created modern India....It was the Arya Samaj which, by reawakening India of the past, did most to pave the way for the India of the 20th century."[91]

86. *Modern Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 133, January, 1918.
87. Kohn, Hans, *Orient and Occident*, p. 128.
88. *The Prakash*, September 5, 1911.
89. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Punjab, Part-II (July-December), 1911, pp. 954-55.
90. *The Tribune*, September 2, 1911.
91. Kohn, Hans, *A History of Nationalism in the East*, pp. 62-63.

CHAPTER III

The Conception of Swaraj

Swami Dayananda gave the war-cry of 'Swaraj is our birthright'. He held that India should belong to Indians and she ought to be made truly Indian. In the country of Dayananda there was no place of Europeans and Indians could manage everything far better than Europeans. The Swami believes that "...it is a religious duty to get rid of Europeans and all the evils that attend them. The better a man understands his religion, the more clear will be his perception that Europeans and European influence must be rooted out."[1] From his early days Maharshi Dayananda fully realised the woeful slavery, both mental and physical, into which the country had been thrown by the circumstances. This slavery, according to him, was also easily and clearly traceable to false religious notions and practices prevalent among the masses steeped in ignorance.[2] Religion had always an irresistible fascination for the Indian mind. He openly said that unless sectarian theological citadels were attacked and the priesthood was mercilessly arraigned, there would be no freedom in the country.[3] Dayananda pointed out the causes of political bondage of India in the following words: "On account of our misfortune, idleness, negligence and internal dissensions, not to speak of other countries, even in India itself, the Aryas have no independence, free or fearless Government of their own. At present whatever little there is, the for-

1. Quoted in Chirol, Valentine: *India Old and New*, p. 121.
2. Chandra, S., *The Case of Satyartha Prakash in Sind*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

eign-trodden. A few states are free. When evil days come, the people of a country have to bear many hardships. However, good others may do, self-government is the best Government. A foreign Government, perfectly free from religious prejudices, impartial towards all—the country-men and the foreigners—kind, beneficent and just to the people of the country like their parents though it may be, can never render the people perfectly happy."[4] He further said that whatever might one do, the indigenous rule was always the best.[5] At the time of the advent of Dayananda the greatest problem before India was the realisation of her political freedom. He realised that without this freedom it was impossible to give effect to any wide scheme of social and economic reconstruction based on the fundamental rights and traditions of the country.[6] Hence he wanted freedom, freedom in every sense, in every field.

Dayananda clearly brought out the difference between 'Suraj' and 'Swaraj'. It was claimed by the English educated people of India that the British Government was the best possible Government. Dayananda did not waste his time in controverting this claim. He compared Suraj (good Government) with Swaraj (self-Government) and said that no foreign Gevernment, however, good, could ever equal self-Government.[7] This was the time when nobody could dare to teach the meaning of Swaraj. Dayananda died in 1883. His *Satyartha Prakash* was written long before his death and was first published in 1875 A.D. The Indian National Congress started its work after 1885, not as a Swaraj demanding society but as a petitioning body for some share in the Government of the country. It was in 1906 that Dadabhai Naroji, the Grand Old Man of India, spoke of self-Government in his famous presidential address at the Calcutta

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4. Saraswati Dayananda, *Light of Truth* (Eng. Tr. of *Satyartha Prakash* by Ganga Prasad Upadhyay), Chapter VIII, pp. 317-318.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

6. Chandra, S., *op. cit.*, p. 37.

7 Upadhyay, Ganga Prasad, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj*, p. 129.

In this respect Dayananda's view may be compared with the view of Henry Campbel Bannerman, the English premier.

Session.[8] Therefore, Swami Dayananda's talk of Swadeshi Raj or Swaraj at a time when the country was so backward in political consciousness bears special significance. It was he who first of all taught the lesson of Swaraj and took it as the birth-right of men. He had already given the slogan 'India for the Indians'. This slogan became the basis of the Indian National Congress during the Calcutta Session. The Session was remarkable for the slogan 'Swaraj' which Dadabhai gave and which at that time caught the people of the country in a frenzy of effort for the attainment of that ideal. The background of the demand of Swaraj was prepared by Dayananda and now it was left for Indians to struggle for it. Dadabhai fearlessly demanded this right and claimed for Indians in India the same control that Englishmen had in England. The whole matter can be comprised in one word 'Self-Government' or 'Swaraj' like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies.[9] Thus the spirit of Dayananda influenced the Calcutta Session of the Congress and other Sessions afterwards. Now the Congress leaders fully realised that "self-Government is the only and chief remedy. In self-Government lie our hope, strength and greatness."[10]

Dayananda believed that without the sense of self-confidence Swaraj could not be achieved. During his time the political good-fortune was not in favour of India. Many misfortunes, political and others, were prevailing in India. India was slave. Religions

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8. *Report of the 21st I.N.C.*, Calcutta, 1906.

The following is the resolution passed by the I.N.C. on the Self-Government:

> "That this Session is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-Government British colonies should be extended to India and that as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out: (1) Simultaneous Examination in India and England; (2) Adequate representation in the India Council or Executive Councils of Viceroy and Governors of Bombay and Madras; (3) Expansion of Council; (4) Extension of powers of Local and Municipal bodies.

9. Rao, M.V., Ràmana: *A Short History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 53.

10. Quoted. *Ibid.*

of foreign countries were prevailing. Education was crippled and mutilated, it was made expensive and it was officialised. At this critical juncture Dayananda stimulated the sense of self-confidence and like a soldier of Light, a Warrior in God's world, a Sculptor of men and institutions, a bold and rugged Victor of the difficulties, he faced the misfortunes of India and revealed to Indians their past glory for stimulating the sense of greatness and self-confidence in them.[11] "Know Thyself India" was his clarion call. Vedas were their guide. The so-called educated India was being swept by the West. "Know Yourself", the Saviour thundered. "Surrender not your souls", he called out to the apes, "your salvation lies not in imitation, but in being yourselves."[12] He was a force-giver, confidence-teacher to the Indian soul and mind. He was in confidence that if Indians become politically conscious and physically strong, then Swaraj was not far from them. Political freedom, then, will follow as a necessary consequence. If the people accept the Vedic religion as their national religion, then Swaraj is not far from them. He was a creative artist as well as a stern critic, a destroyer of foreign religions as well as a builder of Indian Nation. "The general tenor of Dayananda", says Mr. P. Harrison, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Allahabad, "seems...to be rather an exhortation to reform, with perhaps a view to the ultimate restoration of the Government to native hands. His exhortation and prayers are not for the immediate overthrow of the foreign rule, but for such reformation as may perhaps enable the Hindus in the future, to govern themselves...."[13] Thus Dayananda along with his Arya Samaj roused amongst the people a profound sense of self-respect and self-confidence.

The ideas of Swaraj and self-confidence have been fully discussed in the sixth chapter of the *Satyartha Prakash* in which Dayananda has pointed out the duties of a State. According to him, the State should educate all for its own protection and

11. Bhan, Suraj, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

13. Extract from the Judgment delivered by Mr. P. Harrison, November 25, 1902.

continuity. Just as the Brahman should be profoundly learned, in the same way a Kshattriya should be well-educated and highly disciplined, and should protect the kingdom with justice.[14] It should be kept in mind that the English Government was not imparting education to all and in doing so the Government was snatching the right of getting education from general mass in India. The British Government was an absolute Government. Dayananda stood against this absolutism and stood for democracy. He fearlessly said that the governor and governed should co-operate in fostering prosperity and enlightenment by establishing board of education, board of religion and board of politics and by providing men and other creatures with all-round education, liberty, piety, training, wealth, etc.[15] Thus Dayananda was democratic in his view and wanted general welfare of the countrymen. The English rulers were so selfish that they could not seek co-operation even from the deserving men of India. The Swami criticised this policy of the ruler too and said that rulers should take co-operation at least from the deserving candidates for the smooth running of the Government. The absolute British Government was plundering Indian wealth and like a lion was devouring Indians. In pointing out such nature of the Government, Swami Dayananda warned Indians to be conscious of such monarch who was responsible for bringing ruins and untold miseries upon them. "The absolute monarch", says Dayananda, "intoxicated with power ruins the subjects and eats them up. There should be no absolute and unrestricted power. Just as a lion or other flesh-eating beasts kill and devour fat and well-grown animals, similarly an absolute monarch destroys the State. He does not allow anybody to outgrow himself. He robs the wealthy persons by dealing out unjust punishment."[16] Thus while political discontent was enraging people from end to end of the country, Dayananda, pointing out the general duties of a State, was creating forces of Indian national renaissance, was broadening the minds of the people and was opening the win-

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14. Saraswati Dayananda: *Light of Truth* (Eng. Tr. of *Satyartha Prakash* by Ganga Prasad Upadhyay), Chapter VI, p. 198.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

dows of their hearts to the new breezes of freedom and liberty and to the feelings of higher sense of life's and country's values. India began to pass through an intense period of self-analysis and of a cultural and intellectual awakening.

Victory, in the opinion of the Swami, was not everything. He accepted that though the English had conquered India, yet the Indian people should not keep the sense of humiliation. He held that if the rulers were unjust and tyrants, the victory had not got any value for them. Fire-arms, guns, cannons, bows and arrows, swords, etc., might be strong to win a country, but victory might not attend unjust and condemnable people.[17]

Dayananda also defined law and gave its true meaning. He criticised the law-making policy of a Government. No doubt the English Government formed many laws, but the Government was above them. The Government used to change old laws from time to time and to pass new laws according to their convenience and political situation. The king was the maker of law and not law of the king. This was responsible for bringing anarchy and chaos in the country. The Swami advocated the establishment of a strong administration. The English laws protected the English people only and not the Indians. They were for their political satisfaction and imperial extension. Dayananda held that such laws would never liberate a slave country, would never bring Swaraj. He pointed out the importance of law to the Indians in the following words: "Law is the real head, law is the real ruler, law is the administrator of justice, law is the actual governor...law governs the king, law protects the subjects, law wakes when men are asleep; therefore, wise men hold that law alone is religion."[18] He further said that: "Law administered thoughtfully gives the people all-round happiness. Law applied thoughtlessly ruins them all."[19] While teaching the meaning of law to the ruler on the one hand, he also warns the ruler on the other hand that if law was not properly used the ruler might lose his life. He was influenced by Kautilya's view of

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

state in this respect. He said that the king who administers law beautifully would succeed in fostering the threefold advancement of life, i.e., piety, enjoyment and plenty. A sensual, defective or meanly king would be crushed by law itself.[20] This law, according to him was a great light which could destroy the king who deviated from the path of righteousness along with his relations. The Indian people examined the laws of British Government taking Dayananda's conception of law into their consideration and found that the Government was misusing the laws and capturing India step by step. It was the time when the English Government was weakening Indian subjects. This was realised by the Swami. He thought that if Indians would be weakened, Swaraj would be out of hand. Hence he stood against the ruler who tried to weaken the subjects of his dominion whether he might be indigenous or foreigner.

Dayananda was in favour of the department of emissary which played an important role in administration. Regarding merits and abilities of an emissary, he says that he is the best emissary of a state who takes a very keen interest in matters of Government, who does not practise fraud, whose mind is pure, who is very clever, who does not forget even very old things, who acts according to time and circumstances, who has an impressive personality, and who does not fear and is very eloquent.[21] Regarding the duty of the emissary he said that the emissary should remain active to unite the disunited, to disunite the united rogues and to create disunion in the enemy's camp. Later on the Arya Samajist organised the emissaries who played an important part in stimulating the sense of nationalism among Indians.[22] They believed that if the Indian emissaries created disunion in the camp of the English ruler, then they did not commit sin.[23]

During the period under review the Indians were bearing the burden of both political slavery and slavery by being made to

20. *Ibid.,* p. 203.

21. *Ibid.,* p. 209.

22. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, February, 1908, Nos. 105-112, NAI.

23. *Ibid.* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.

pay heavy taxes. Regarding this, Dayananda said that the annual taxes should be collected through honest persons and the kings and the other officials of the state should treat the people parent-like. In determining taxation, the Swami said that the king and his assembly should bear two points in mind, first, the smooth carrying on of Government work, and secondly the well being of the people.[24]

The Swami, thus, may be regarded as a pioneer in the renaissance movement in India. His writings and active participation in the process of regeneration and rejuvenation of India have become a source of inspiration to his countrymen in their struggle for emancipation and cultural advancement of the nation. Under his leadership the Arya Samaj became the church militant in the Hindu fold as well as in the national fold.[25] Like Rousseau of France he believed that all men by nature are equal.[26] Rousseau and Marx provided the philosophical background to the French and Russian revolutions respectively. Dayananda through the Vedas, provided moral and social background to the Indian Nationalism. He insisted on the moral purification of the individual and the necessity of social reconstruction.[27] Mr. Ananda Swarup of Agra rightly observed that the Swami was one of the great gifts of India in the last century. Though born and brought up in simple circumstances in his home in Kathiawar, he, in course of time, developed qualities of head and heart that make men great and entitle them to a place of honour in the pages of the history of their times.[28]

The ideas of Swaraj and self-confidence flew side by side like two distinct streams, meeting sometimes at one place. A number of the followers of the Swami began to teach the idea of Swaraj and self-confidence and strengthened the national move-

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24. *Saraswati, Dayananda*: *Light of Truth* (Eng. Tr. of *Satyartha Prakash* by Ganga Prasad Upadhyay), p. 219.
25. Natarajan, S., *op. cit.*, p. 75.
26. Fuller, J.F.C., *India in Revolt*, p. 74.
27. Varma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 60.
28. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume*, p. 190.

ment which was going on in India under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. One Sham Lal, a student of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, wrote a communication which was published in the *Arya Gazette* of Lahore in which he popularised the idea of Dayananda in the following words: "The history of the world shows clearly enough that no country or religion can rise unless those engaged in the task are ready to sacrifice their lives in the cause."[29] He was of opinion that "if we wish that our country also should become free like America, it is necessary that we also should imbibe the spirit of sacrifice. The time will come ...(rather) it is bound to come, when we will float in the stream of liberty."[30] In the same communication he also gave the meaning of sacrifice. Its meaning was to lead unselfish life, consider it a duty to try to promote the welfare of the country by every means and persevere in this till death; and this idea of sacrifice should be taught by the scheme of national education as propagated by Dayananda and not by Western education as promulgated by Lord Macaulay. Hari Nath Mukherjee, a medical practitioner of Ludhiana, called on the people to push on the mission of propagating the Swadeshi Dharma. Notices on the Swadeshi Dharma and Self-Government were sent which circulated the ideas that no Indian was worth if he did not look forward to the day when his own country would be governed by his own people. We are also informed by the same notices that "our countrymen must either use their best endeavours to secure self-Government or be prepared to have the unpleasant duty of carrying on a vigorous boycott of foreign goods, for the purpose of protecting and developing our nascent industries. If they fail in this duty, they will deserve to remain forever the hewers of wood and drawers of water of the foreigners."[31] Mahatma Hans Raj, a prominent member of the Arya Samaj and the Principal of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, in a meeting of the Arya Samaj which was held on the 21st July, 1907 at Anarkali stimulated the sense of self-confidence in his countrymen and said that Indians should not lose heart under the hardships and sufferings created by the for-

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29. *The Arya Gazette,* May 9, 1907.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*

eign rulers but must continue to persevere just as Dayananda did during the troubles so much so that he gave his life for his country and religion.[32] The four Arya Samajists of Atali (Nabha State) complained on 3rd August, 1907, that the English were taking away their country's money and requested thirty millions of Aryas of India to combine against them.[33] To be physically strong akharas were started in Multan under the auspices of the Arya Samaj where boys were to be taught wrestling and other manly games.[34] During the same year the Arya Samajists of Hazara popularised the idea of unity and said that if all Indians were to unite, it would not be difficult to eject the British and secure the Government.[35] Arya Samajists like Ram Chand of Sialkot, a constable serving in the District Police of the town, and others did not consider the Britishers as the kings of India. They held that they were the merchants and not kings.[36] The Arya Samajists of Allahabad said that the English rule was ruining and impoverishing their country.[37] Devi Chand of Hoshiarpur stated on August 18, 1907 that to learn the lesson of pure indigenous religion meant to make India free in due course of time. He was of opinion that the advancement and the emancipation of the country could be achieved either by promoting religion or by putting it on one side and making common political cause. According to him, education should always be combined with religious instruction so as to prevent children from falling an easy prey to Mohammedan and Christian missionaries. It was religion only which could spur human beings on to sacrifice their lives in the interests of others.[38] He further said that the missionary's schools were great obstacles in the way of getting Swaraj for India. He, therefore, pointed out that children who attend-

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32. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, August, 1907, Nos. 135-145, NAI.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, October, 1907, Nos. 80-87, NAI.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, October, 1907, Nos. 40-49, NAI.

ed mission schools were likely to be spiritually ruined. To avoid this the Samaj had founded schools in which religion and love of the country were thoroughly taught. Following the principles of the Swami, he stimulated the sense of self-confidence amongst Indians by saying that the day would come when their children, brave and resolute, would stand in the world imposed to those who were proselytising the Indian religion and education. In Lahore the teaching of Dayananda was deep-rooted. Several meetings were being held in the town. Roshan Lal Mulchand, a Professor of the Training College, spoke in two meetings on *National Education* as a means of getting liberty for India. On July 4, 1907 he spoke in one meeting: "The people of almost every other country have learnt the meaning of liberty by acquiring education. The mute animals, bull, ass and horse are used as beasts of burden on account of their want of power of speech. The Indians have got sufficient education and they have just begun to realise its good when all of a sudden they have been forbidden the right of speech. By art and cunning man catches the lion and keeps him hungry and thus by weakening him subjugates him to his will. Aryavarta is a forest, full of lions but nearly all her lions have been chained. At the threat of the whip the circus-master forces a lion into doing whatever he likes. By artificial means he instils fear and the lion is thus cowed into dishonourable obedience and becomes content to accept the cage as a substitute for the wide world; but there has been many an occasion in which a lion enraged and desperate has assaulted the circus-master and thus ended his life by a single blow....We, who are lions, could follow the example of that desperate lion and be brave enough to catch the circus-master in our clutches and break his ribs and bones."[39] Similar views were expressed by Lala Lajpat Rai before the students of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. He said on November 29, 1907, "so long as you go to other doors to beg, so long as you cannot stand on your own legs, you cannot succeed."[40] The idea of self-Government also prevailed in Gujranwala. *'India'*, a local magazine, stated that Indians were bound to obey a king who

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, January, 1908, Nos. 19-26, NAI.

looked to their interests and sympathised with them but not one who like a butcher saved his sheep from wolves and then killed them himself.[41] Another magazine, *'Vihari'* said: "Ravan in India takes delight in throwing our public leaders into prison ravishing our mankind and starving thousands of persons to death. Such a king as Ravan, has no right to rule over India."[42] The *'Hindustan'* of the 14th February, 1908, said that Swaraj was to a nation what the soul was to the body and that it was indispensable in order to keep a people alive.[43] It further stated that Swaraj was not to be obtained from others by begging but that a people could get it through their own efforts alone. In order to secure Swaraj natives should make their souls free and act like free men, trusting in God and teaching their fellow-countrymen to tread the path of liberty. To learn the lesson of Swaraj they should open national schools and colleges, promote the Swadeshi and boycott movements and establish Panchayats for the settlement of disputes arising among them. They should keep their eyes fixed on liberty and march onward like brave men. They would meet with obstacles, but they must overcome them and reach their destination. A leading daily newspaper of Lahore entitled *'Hitkari'* of April 13, 1908, published a communication on *'India: In the Past and Present'* in which the editor praised the ancient kings of India for their right justice and gave discredit to the present English rulers of India for their doing injustice.[44] He stated that the reign of Ram Chandra would ever remain memorable for the many blessings enjoyed by the people. The Raja Ram Chandra issued strict injunctions that no servant of his empire should resort to flattery or try to hide the truth from him. It was he who, on the complaint of a washerman, had his own dear spouse sent into

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41. *Ibid.*, July, 1907, Nos. 39-177, NAI.

42. *Ibid.* (During the period the Lala, Ajit Singh and others had been sent to jail).

43. *The Hindustan*, February 14, 1908.

Also selections from *Native Newspapers*, Punjab (January-December) 1908, pp. 100-101.

44. *Hitkari*, April 13, 1908.

Also selections from *Native Newspapers*, Punjab (January-December), 1908, pp. 100-101.

exile. Had it been the present reign the unhappy washerman would have either been sent to jail or made to dance in the air. But those were the days of justice when even the poorest could get their grievances redressed. In conclusion the editor said that, "the present rulers of India seem to consider it their duty to oppress the people."[45]

Sarala Devi was more active in burning the idea of liberty and love for the country in the hearts of millions. While attending a political meeting held on May 1, 1908, she advocated that patriotism meant love for one's country; there was no human being on this earth, whether he be English, German, French or American, who had not at his heart love for his own country. She categorically described the feeling of patriotism in different nations in the following words: "To an American the date of discovery of America means nothing. For him there is no other date than that which marks the day of American independence and it is this in which he takes pride, and for which he exults, as it is the day on which he gained freedom and liberty. A Frenchman always remembers the days of the French Revolution of 1789. For Japan there is no memorable date than that on which they fought to death in preserving their rights and privileges against the encroachments of the Russian Government and eventually triumphed. It is the same in the case of the Greeks. This is love for one's country."[46]

From the year 1909 and onwards the fervent feeling of Swaraj arose in India. Dayananda's views began to influence almost all leaders of the country and the position of the English, in the opinion of the C.I.D. agents, was in danger. In Lahore about 2,000 Arya Samajists enrolled as national volunteers to fight for self-Government.[47] During the same year (1909) the *Bandematram Agency* of Lahore published eight books in Urdu which dealt with patriotism and Swaraj.[48] These were the books:

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45. *Ibid.*

46. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, June, 1908, Nos. 161-168, NAI.

47. *Ibid.,* January, 1909, Nos. 106-112, NAI.

48. *Ibid.,* April, 1909, Nos. 103-110, NAI.

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(1) The Thought of Shivaji; (2) The Speeches of Surendra Nath Banerjea; (3) National Education; (4) The Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale; (5) How Nations can Live; (6) Government Service; (7) The Story of India as told by Mr. Keir Hardie; and (8) The Thoughts of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose. These books facilitated the speed of national movement in India. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, '*The Karmyogi*', a leading magazine of Allahabad, began to publish articles on national education and Swaraj.[49] Ram Bhaj Dutta, the most active member of the Arya Samaj, appealed to the people to sacrifice their lives for religion and country. While addressing a meeting of the Arya Samaj held at Meerut, he expressed the above idea.[50] He also delivered lecture at Agra and laid stress on the same idea.[51] Pandit Lekh Ram, Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta and Guru Datt were the three pillars of the Arya Samaj who wanted to win the whole world through the Vedic religion. Pandit Ram Bhaj was a man who had taken in his own hands the victorious banner of Vedic religion which had been coloured red with the blood of Swami Dayananda. Pandit Lekh Ram, also known as the Arya Musafir, fearlessly opposed the foreign religions and toiled hard to spread the Vedic religion all over the world. Guru Datt's criticism of the foreign Government and love for religion dazzled the eyes of enemies. Lala Lajpat Rai spoke on education and necessity of being bold and brave in a meeting held at Jullundur.[52] In the year 1911, the *Karmyogi* published a poem composed by one Girdhar on the policy of ruling races in which it was mentioned that the British Government could not last even for a single day without the co-operation of the Indians. The poet said that opinions of Indians were invited but they did not lie within their power to make them effective. He further blamed that the English were trying to weaken Indians physically and intellectually. Intellect was being gradually stultified by the education that was imparted in schools and colleges. Religious education was of primary importance to every Hindu, but

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49. *Ibid.*, September, 1909, Nos. 47-54, NAI.
50. *Ibid.*, November, 1909, Nos. 32-41, NAI.
51. *Ibid.*, February, 1910, Nos. 120-127, NAI.
52. *Ibid*

that could not be provided for in Government institutions. In such a case the inevitable result followed, namely, the stultification of the intellect. In such schools Indians were also taught that their past civilization was far inferior to that of the occidentals.[53] This poem touched the heart of the people of Allahabad and they stood against the English rule.

During the year 1911 the Arya Samaj became the more powerful association if not in the whole country, at least in the Punjab. It began to exercise a considerable influence on the Punjabis. During the year the Arya Samaj's vitality was so great that it was even now beyond the power of the Government to suppress it. It was rapidly increasing in numbers and extending the sphere of the operations.[54] Naturally masses began to follow on which Dayananda had strode. During the year a student of Kangri, named Satya Deo. went to Pittsburg in America where he said the audience with sobs that in his country "Government was so cruel that it did not even let a black man carry a long knife."[55] The *Musafir* of June 5, 1911, advocated general education and said that it should be the duty of every educated man and preacher to dispel the darkness of ignorance from the country. It expressed satisfaction that following in the footsteps of its founder. the Arya Samaj had to a great extent succeeded in dispelling the clouds of ignorance from India.[56] In the same year the *Vedic Sarvaswa* stimulated the sense of self-confidence amongst the people. The editor of the paper said: "...a country which may today be at its zenith socially and politically may tomorrow become subject to another nation which was until lately rude and uncivilized. No fallen people of today should despair, as the wheel of time may in its revolution raise them again above their present superiors."[57] Dr. A.K. Kumar Swamy of Agra, while celebrating the annual foun-

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53. *The Karmyogi,* January 18, 1910.

54. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, April, 1911, Nos. 101-104, NAI.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *The Musafir,* June 5, 1911.

57. *The Vedic Sarvaswa,* July, 10, 1911.
Also *Report on Native Newspapers,* Punjab, Part-II, 1911, p. 451.

dation day of the D.A.V. College of Lahore, laid stress on indigenous education and said that it was bad on part of India to leave education in the hands of the Government and missionaries. He regretted that Indian students who came to foreign countries got themselves inoculated with alien sentiments instead of inculcating their ideas in foreign minds and went back to India as men who had lost all indigenous thoughts.[58] The year 1912 saw the Arya Samajists preaching the gospel of Dayananda in Bengal. A leaflet named 'Liberty' was somewhere found in Bengal which inspired the Bengalies in the following words: "this is the time to prove your worth. Your leaders are aware that every nation appreciates freedom of speech and writing, and that streams of blood have flowed in the protection of this priceless right."[59] It further said: "the honour of the whole of India is in your hands. Awake or degrade yourself for ever. If you yield now, you will remain slaves for ever and will never be able to taste the flavour of liberty. Government has no right to rule this country."[60]

During the First World War and after, idea of Swaraj again began to influence the mind and heart of Indian people. India and Britain were fighting a devastating war side by side for honour, liberty and justice. India wanted her own liberty and justice. During the years Indians had awakened to a consciousness of their right for self-Government. Lala Lajpat Rai, though he was in America, advocated the slogan that India was for Indians. He said about patriotism, "Indians have been taught from time immemorial to love their mothers, and the love of their motherland was many times greater than the love due to a mother[61]

58. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B. August, 1912, Nos. 26-30, NAI.

59. *Ibid.*, July, 1914, Nos. 124-128, NAI.

This leaflet, as had been doubted, was written by Munshi Ram whom the Mohammedans thought as their dangerous enemy. The *Ahl-i-Hadis*, a Muslim paper of Amritsar, relieves this. But the Criminal Intelligence Department does not throw light whether it was written by Munshi Ram or by someone else.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), (B-Printed), February, 1915, Nos. 777-780, NAI.

Then he spoke of the high standard of the Hindu civilization which had been nipped in the bud by the British occupation. He believed in the strength of Indians and said that if India was ever to attain freedom, it must be by the efforts of Indians themselves and therefore he appealed to them not to rely on the help of other nations.[62] He did not require help even from Americans who were the best friends of India. He required only sympathy from them in the name of justice.[63] Bhai Parmananda, a close associate of the Lala and a lecturer in History of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, was a great revolutionary teacher, preacher and worker of the Arya Samaj. He toured the whole of India and praised the civilization and religion of the ancient India. He wrote books with a view to develop the nationalistic ideas in India. His '*Tarikh-i-Hind*' (History of India), which was proscribed by the Government of Punjab, represented the British Government of India to have been tyrannical and selfish.[64]

By the year 1915 the number of enemies of the British Raj in India increased. India's sons in thousands began to feel that it was essential to sacrifice their lives for the country and to cut the bonds of slavery which had enchained their country. Ram Deo, the successor of Munshi Ram, was an active member of the *Prakash Party,* a branch of the Arya Samaj and an ardent nationalist. He had high regard for the activities of the Samaj. He used to say that the country would be emancipated very soon if the countrymen follow the views of the Samaj.[65]

When the Non-Co-operation Movement was sponsored by the Indian National Congres in 1920-21, the Arya Samajists openly took part in it.[66] Formerly they did not take part in such move-

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62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.,* January, 1918, Nos. 487-490, NAI. (Munshi Ram was the Principal of the Gurukula at Kangri. He was replaced by Ram Deo).

66. Upadhyay, Ganga Prasad: *The Origin, Scope and Mission of The Arya Samaj,* p. 131.

ments. But Lala Lajpat Rai advised that it should be the duty of the Aryas that political movements and religious bodies should give up their present policy of cowardice and act with great courage and broad-mindedness, then the Samaj began to take part in such movements. The proportion of Arya Satyagrahis, who took part in Non-Co-operation Movement, was very high.[67] They also gave practical support to other nationalistic movements or times of a movement. The *Vedic Magazine* of Lahore began to publish the articles on Non-Co-operation Movement and advised the Arya Samajists and people of India to take part in the Movement. Ram Deo, the editor of the magazine, described the inner force of the movement in the following words: "The Non-Co-operation Movement is the outward expression of a great moral upheaval and cultural self-assertion. It is the revolt of an eastern people, that has regained its lost soul, against the domination of a soulless civilization, which scorns the power of the spirit and believes merely in brute force."[68] The *Bande Matram,* another Arya Samajic paper of Lahore, stated that the movement was started on the principle of Vedas. It was the message of Swami Dayananda to go against those states which did not protect the subjects. The Magazine which published an article of Lala Lajpat Rai entitled *'Non-Co-operation Movement Ordered by the Vedas: Swami Dayananda's Message'*, said that the Vedas taught the creed of Non-Co-operation. Dayananda, according to the writer of the article, had given the support to the people to go against those States who were in habit of realising taxes for their own protection.[69]

Thus from 1876 to 1920 the Swami and the Arya Samaj tried their best to popularise the ideas that the Swaraj was the birth-right of Indians. The thoughts of Dayananda and lectures and articles delivered and published by the different Samajic leaders and magazines expressed the very essence of the philosophy of Swaraj which influenced the people at that time. Daya-

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67. *Ibid.*

68. *The Vedic Magazine,* December, 1920.

Also *Report on Native Newspapers,* Punjab, 1921, pp. 1-2.

69. *The Bande Matram,* January, 1921.

nanda wanted to unite the disunited Indians into one from every point of view. To end the distressing disunion of India and to make India socially one, he wanted to eliminate the differences of caste and class; to make it religiously one, he wanted to substitute his Aryan for all other religions; to make it rationally one, he was led to emancipate it from foreign rule.[70]

Dayananda taught not only the supremacy of Swarajya, he also fostered the rise of Indian nationalism by the impetus he gave to the vernacular movement. He felt that Hindi, being the most extensively spoken and understood of all the indigenous languages and having the advantages of being based on the most scientific alphabet, could be given that high place.[71] He was a famous scholar of Sanskrit. In the words of Madam Blavatsky, "India never saw a more learned Sanskrit scholar, a deeper metaphysician, a more wonderful denunciator of any evil than Dayananda since the time of Shankaracharya;"[72] yet he decided to write and lecture in Hindi.[73] He wrote his famous book, the *Satyartha Prakash*, in Hindi and wrote commentaries on the Vedas in the vernacular. It was in truth an epoch-making date in the intellectual history of India when Dayananda began to write commentaries on the Vedas in Hindi.[74] The non-Brahmin sections received a new sense of intellectual self-confidence. Dayananda did not have any training in Western knowledge. He was a product of Sanskrit learning. Although his

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70. Zacharias, H.C.E., *Renascent India,* p. 38.

71. Bhan, Suraj, *op. cit.,* pp. 154-155.

72. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume,* p. 129.

73. This change came when Dayananda went to Calcutta towards the end of 1872. Here he met Keshav Chandra Sen who exercised a very wonderful influence over him. Two changes in his method dated from this time. Firstly, he began to wear regular clothes and secondly, he realised, from the great influence exercised by Keshav Chandra Sen and other Brahmo Samaj's leaders through their addresses in Bengali that he ought to give up using Sanskrit in his public lectures and speak in Hindi instead.

74. Rolland, Romain, *op. cit.,* p. 106.

Between 1876 and 1883, Dayananda wrote in Sanskrit and Pandits directed by him translated into the dialects. Dayananda alone, however, translated the original text.

nationalism appealed to the Western educated Indians, his being a Rishi and a Sannyasi influenced the masses. Dayananda taught and lectured in the Hindi language and this enabled him to reach the Indian masses.

The Swami helped to make Hindi the national language of India. He realised, as most of the educationists have begun to realise these days, that Indian students should not be plagued with a foreign medium, and that all instructions should, as far as possible, be imparted in the country's own language. He never wanted that the study of English should be neglected; he only wanted the vernacular of the country to take its proper place.[75] He wanted students and Indians to be conversant with their own language, culture and traditions lest they should be anglicised to such an extent that they should know more about Bacon and Mill than about Kapila or Patanjali.[76] With this object he tried his best to give a new impetus to vernacular movement in India. After the death of Dayananda his disciples continued the work of preaching through the medium of Hindi. Just as the growth of Italian, German and French languages since the Renaissance gave an impetus to the growth of nationalism in Europe, so also the writings and preachings of Dayananda and the attempts of his disciples gave an impetus to the growth of Indian nationalism. The Swami's advocacy of Hindi also found support of the leaders of the Indian National Congress including Mahatma Gandhi.[77]

For the advancement of Hindi several Arya Samajic lecturers started a movement. One Sunder Lal, while addressing a Swadeshi meeting in Calcutta on August 28, 1909, praised the founder of the Samaj for his adoption of Hindi as the medium of preaching and said that to speak in a Swadeshi meeting in English was a sin. He then spoke in Hindi.[78] Similarly Pandit Jugal Kishore of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, while speaking at

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75. Bhan, Suraj, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

76. Sharma, Diwanchand, *Makers of the Arya Samaj*, p. 93.

77. Rao, M.V. Raman, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

78. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, September, 1909, Nos. 47-54, NAI.

the fourth anniversary meeting of the Begamabad branch of the Arya Samaj held on the 8th and 9th April of 1911 at Meerut, laid stress on the study of Sanskrit and Hindi.[79] When the 9th anniversary of the Kangri Gurukul was held at Bijnor from 13th to 17th April, 1911, it was discussed to collect money to carry out the scheme of free education at the Gurukul and the desirability of making Hindi or Arya Bhasha the universal language of India. In this anniversary resolutions were passed regarding the general use of Hindi.[80] When Lala Lajpat Rai formed Hindu Elementary Education League and announced that the instructions to the boys would be given in Hindi, then it aroused a considerable amount of controversy in the press. But the leader did not care at all. He loved Hindi and decided to make it the official language of India and to fulfil the dream of Rishi Dayananda.[81] One leading newspaper of Lahore entitled the *Observer* of August 19, 1911 appreciated the step taken by Lala Lajpat Rai in the following words: "He would bring unity between the Hindus and Muslims and as well as would find room and scope for spreading the knowledge of Hindi."[82] This step of the Lala injured the sentiments of the Punjabis as their own language was being replaced by Hindi. The matter became serious when Lala Durga Prasad wrote a letter on the language controversy which was published in the *Tribune* of the 25th August, 1911. He persuaded the Punjabis to raise slogan against Hindi. He said in his article that "A true Punjabi, be he a Hindu, a Mohammedan or a Sikh, cannot see his mother-tongue replaced by a foreign language (Hindi)! We want to improve Punjabi, our mother-tongue; let us all children of the soil of the Five Rivers try our best to raise our dear Punjabi."[83] But the *Tribune* was on the side of Lala Lajpat Rai and said that the Hindi language was the only language which could become the national language of India.[84] The *Prakash* of September 5, 1911 published an arti-

79. *Ibid.*, June, 1911, Nos. 4-8, NAI.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*, October, 1911, Nos. 46-49, NAI.
82. *The Observer*, August 19, 1911.
83. *The Tribune*, August 25, 1911.
84. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1911.

cle from the pen of Lala Lajpat Rai entitled *'The Arya Samaj and the Hindi Language'* in which he said that Dayananda adopted Hindi as the medium in which he preached his mission to the countrymen and directed his followers to spread and promote Hindi. The Arya Samajas of different provinces accepted this and considered it their duty to spread the Arya Bhasha throughout the length and breadth of India. He said in his article that indeed it would be well if all Hindu communities throughout India adopted Hindi as their vernacular; but it would be extremely difficult for some Hindu communities in the different provinces of India to abandon their respective vernaculars. Under these circumstances it should be the duty of all Arya Samajas to teach Hindi in their educational institutions.[85] Swami Madhavanand, an Arya Samajist, practically started to improve Hindi. He, as the *Saddharm Pracharak*, Kangri magazine of February 15, 1911, informs, established a Hindu school in Madras Presidency to teach Hindi. The editor remarked that it was quite a new step in the Presidency where the influence of Christians, Vaishnavites and Theosophists reigned supreme. The editor also asked the All India and Provincial Samajas to help the new institutions.[86] The *Abhyudaya* of Allahabad encouraged the Hindu Wakils to realise their duty in the matter of spreading the use of the Hindi language in courts and remarked that they could at any rate serve its cause by submitting plaints and statements in Hindi only.[87] The similar view was expressed by the *Arya Mitra* of Agra on May 24, 1911. The editor pointed out that no progress worth the name was possible in India unless Hindi was adopted as the universal language of the country.[88] He urged that Hindi should be the medium of instruction in all schools and colleges, and that English or any other language should be taught only as a secondary subject. He also suggested that for the advancement of Hindi all domestic and public works should be transacted through the medium of Hindi.[89]

Truly Swami Dayananda was an ardent devotee of India and

85. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1911.
86. *The Saddharm Pracharak*, February 15, 1911.
87. *The Abhyudaya*, February 20, 1911.
88. *The Arya Mitra*, May 24, 1911.
89. *Ibid.*

a worthy supporter of Swaraj and Arya Bhasha. He was great —great of all philosophers, thinkers, patriots and fighters. Mr. Har Bilas Sarda throws light on his greatness and says that he was a great man like Krishna, Buddha and Jesus who raised the moral level of mankind and tried to promote human welfare. It was he who held a high ideal of conduct for people to follow and ceaselessly worked to lighten their burden and to remove the injustices, the sufferings and sorrows of the world by banishing ignorance and guiding them towards truth, light and happiness. Besides these political independence was one of the first objectives of Dayananda. Indeed he was the first man to use the term Swaraj, he was the first to insist on people using only Swadeshi things manufactured in India and to discard foreign things.[90] He was the first to recognise Hindi as the national language of India. He was, according to O'Malley, an Indian out and out who adopted Hindi and waged a war against bad practices.[91] Mr. K.M. Munshi regards him as a nation-builder and says that, "He was the first great architect of modern India. His vision was clearer and broader than any other nation-maker. In the neo-Hinduism of today in Indian Nationalism, in the vigour of the Hindu Mahasabha mentality, in the method of Mahatma Gandhi, we can trace the influence of Swamiji's unerring vision and statesmanship. His memory, undoubtedly, will enrich the heritage of future India."[92]

Such a great man, who was a source of strength and inspiration to men in every country, died at Ajmer on October 30, 1883; but his work was carried on by his Arya Samaj. The Samaj succeeded in its aim and brought a rapid progress in all spheres of the Indian life. It had a life behind it, the life of Dayananda who guided it to the final triumph of its ideals and this was the secret of its success and rapid progress.[93] The Samaj after the death of its Founder, stood as the most powerful and energetic indigenous body which started social, educational, religious and philanthropic movements to further the cause of nationalism in India and to fulfil the dreams of Swami Dayananda.

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90. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume,* Int., pp. XXV-XXVII.
91. O'Malley, *op. cit.,* p. 491.
92. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume,* p. 59.
93. Some Arya Samajists, *op. cit.,* Preface, p. III.

CHAPTER IV

The Social Reconstruction, National Education and Swadeshi

Among all the socio-religious reform movements, which tended to have a national scope and a programme of reconstruction in the social and religious spheres, the Arya Samaj was the most important movement. Unlike the other movements it was a revivalist movement in its character which stood above all on the indigenous culture. Its vision was carried on in shape of cultural nationalism by Swami Vivekananda and militant political nationalism by Lokmanya Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. The motive of the Arya Samaj, like all other Samajas, was to bring the national progress in the country. But real national progress was quite impossible without a radical change in social outlook. Hence the great task before the Arya Samaj or any other Samaj was the problem of social reconstruction. Reconstruction, however, requires the study of prevailing conditions. The new forces generated by the impact of British rule had to be evaluated and assimilated or rejected on merits. For this purpose the educated Hindus began a critical study of the environment in which they were placed. The problem that confronted them starkly was how to achieve a synthesis of the old and the new, a fusion of the East and the West in such a way as to achieve the regeneration of India. This problem was to be solved by the Arya Samaj.[1] In this connection the Arya Samaj had to reconstruct society and make all-round attack on the evils of the Hindu society.

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1. *The Punjabi*, December 10, 1911.

During the 18th century the Hindu society had been on decline. It had become a huge static, fossilised organisation. The Brahmins had maintained a rigorous control over people's lives; and all power of independent thinking and activity had gone. The caste-system, with its endlessly growing ramifications, its increasing rigidity in matters of inter-dining, of marriage and other customs, stifled in its death-like embrace the lives, hopes and aspirations of individuals and classes.[2] The early marriage had become almost universally prevalent among the Hindu society. At the Census Report of 1911 of the United Provinces, for every 10,000 females, the number of married girls was as follows:

Age	*Hindus*	*Muslims*	*Jains*	*Aryans*
0—10	157	116	56	92
10—15	602	457	419	442

The result was that thousands of young girls became widows before they had ever seen their husbands arrive at physical maturity. These widows in the higher castes were not allowed to remarry; and their lot was exceedingly miserable. Polygamy prevailed among many sections of Hindus and also among Mohammedans.[3] The position of women in general was in many ways pitiable. The *purdah* was a striking characteristic of both Hindu and Mohammedan domestic life. High caste women could not come out of their apartments and show their faces to the outside world. Equally hard was the lot of the lower classes called now the depressed class, the Shudras or helots of society. They were untouchables; even their shadow would polute a high caste Brahmin. They had to stay apart in segregated locality, and were debarred from the ordinary privileges of attending a school or using the village wells or mixing in any way with the high caste Hindu. Besides all these evils, the English education was ruining the souls of Indians. It was making students irreligious and intended to uproot Hinduism. In all these fields, the Arya Samaj made an all-round attack on the evils of Hindu society.

To start with caste system, the Arya Samaj viewed it from a novel angle. Originally it was a structure founded on division

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2. Buch A, Magan Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
3. *Census Report of India of 1911*, Volume XVI, p. 156.

of labour. Whatever rigidities it had were meant merely to mitigate the harshness of cut-throat competition. Thus it was primarily a social institution performing socially useful functions. But after the establishment of the British rule in India new economic forces were released and these forces began to undermine the old Indian economic structure with its self-sufficient villages and local markets. New classes emerged to perform new functions, and the old trades began to wither and perish beneath the impact of competition and the new industrialism. As a result of these upheavals the rigid functional basis of the caste system began to give way, leaving behind a complicated framework of outmoded rigidities.[4] Therefore, the Arya Samajists asserted that this obsolete complicated system was not to be maintained and of social classification was to be done away with. They believed that in place of the previous caste rigidities there should be inter-caste mobility, a freedom of movement from one caste to another based on character (Gun), action (Karma) and nature (Swabhawa). The Arya Samaj found justification for this reform in the fact that caste was not based on birth in Vedic times. The Mantra of the Veda does not in any way countenance the caste-system, but describes the constitution of human society by means of an analogy between mankind and the human body. In the Rig Veda, a worshipper says, "I am a poet, my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on stone. Being engaged in different occupations, we seek wealth and happiness as cows seek food in different pastures...."[5] Thus the Samaj repudiated caste by birth; it condemned the numerous sub-divisions into which Hindu society had been split up by reason of caste and sub-castes. In the opinion of Swami Dayananda the institution was an anachronism that had long outlived its usefulness, a force that was working for the disruption of Hindu society and a cancer that was slowly poisoning the very life-blood of the nation.[6] He gave instances of men who belonged to low family but became Brahmins due to their merits. The Chhandogya Upanishada quotes an instance of sage Jabali coming from an uncertain family who

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4. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Punjab, 1908, pp. 418-419.
5. Quoted in Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Arya Samaj*, p. 141.
6. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume*, p. 245.

became a Brahmin.[7] Similarly Vishwamitra, belonging to a Kshattriya family and Matanga, belonging to a very Chandala family, became Brahmins.[8] Therefore Dayananda taught that society should be built on merit and not on colour and creed. In order to propagate this idea and to abolish caste system he had toured far and wide over the country holding religious meetings and addressing learned gatherings on this subject and ultimately succeeded by defeating the arguments advanced by the supporters of Varnashrama Dharma in convincing a considerable section of his co-religionists of the inequality and injustice involved in the system.[9]

The Arya Samajists continued to advocate against the caste system. Mahatma Hansraj, Principal of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, carried on the mission of Dayananda. He wanted to build a casteless society. The D.A.V. College and the school at Lahore provided him with a fertile ground for sowing seeds of social reconstruction. No separate caste messes were allowed to be set up in any of the hostels run by the D.A.V. College.[10] Here the students felt no curiosity to know the sub-castes of fellow students; after years of living together as members of the same hostel as classfellows and contemporaries the young men remained ignorant of the caste grades of their fellow students.' It was a revolutionary change. Hans Raj sent his workers to Malabar where they challenged the foundations of the local caste system. Here the workers helped the low people to fight for their right in courts and it was decided that they had as good a right to the use of public roads as the Brahmins.[11] Hans Raj established the idea of dignity of labour. Lala Gurdas Ram Chaddha, son of the Mahatma's brother-in-law, opened a shop called the Chaddha Laundry Works in 1903 on the advice of the Mahatma.[12] Lala Dhani Ram, his cousin, started

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7. Saraswati, Dayananda, *Light of Truth*, pp. 124-125.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
9. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume*, p. 245.
10. Sharma, Sri Ram, *Mahatma Hans Raj: Maker of the Modern Punjab*, p. 73.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
12. *Ibid.*

to sell shoes accepting his advice. Similarly Lala Lajpat Rai was against the caste system and he delivered a series of lectures against it in course of his tours. In July 1909 he wrote to the *Modern Review* about caste-system in which he said, "There can be no denying the fact that the rigidity of the Hindu caste-system is the bane of Hindu society. The present caste-system is both practically and politically unsound. Practically society cannot improve as there is no strength among the people to fight against to evils unanimously. Politically they cannot win freedom.[13]

On the principles of equality the Samaj thought to raise the status of untouchables. The uplift of the depressed masses of India was as important as steps to raise for liberalising the rigidities of caste-system, if nation was to be built up on a sound basis. The Arya Samaj did not consider the problem of untouchability from the religious point of view.[14] Untouchability, according to the Arya Samaj, was largely due to bad environment, association and training, and the resulting deterioration of character. It was, therefore, simply a matter of cleanliness, hygiene, character-training and improvement of environment; not a matter of religion or birth. Untouchability had arisen, at least so the Arya Samajists thought, by the ostracising of unsocial individuals as a punishment for their misdeeds.[15] There was no religious sanction behind it, as it was commonly believed. Hence any Shudra who was clean in mind and body had, therefore, the right to be considered as 'Dwija' (twice-born). This approach to the problem of untouchability was yet another step in the direction of secularisation. As an illustration of Swami Dayananda's practical earnestness the following incident from Suraj Bhan's book on the Swami is revealing: "An untouchable brought him rice and curry to eat, and Dayananda accepted his gift of love. A Brahmin standing by protested saying, 'you are polluted for you have eaten the meals brought by this man'.

13. *The Modern Review*, July, 1909.

Also *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, August. 1909, Nos. 120-129, NAI.

14. I.S.R. Volume-XI, p. 218.

15. *Ibid.*

Dayananda replied: 'Food may be polluted in two ways, either when it is procured by force causing pain to another or when it is mixed with a dirty thing. But there is a poor man earning his bread with the sweat of his brow. His food is the best.'"[16]

And from the national point of view the Arya Samaj had done the utmost for the betterment of the lot of untouchables. The social ideas of the Arya Samaj were the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man; the equality of the sexes; absolute justice and fair play between men and men and nations and nations, equal opportunities to all according to their nature, Karma and merit and love and charity towards all.[17] In pursuance of these ideals, the Arya Samaj took great interest in the social uplift of the lower classes. It did this in two ways: (1) the raising of status of castes not entitled to wear the sacred thread by permitting them that privilege; and (2) raising untouchables to the rank of touchables, and educating them to higher social ideals, with a view to eventually putting them on a footing of social equality with other Hindus.[18] This work was done by the Arya Samaj as such as well as by special organisations supported by the Arya Samaj and affiliated directly or indirectly to the latter. The best known of these organisations was the *Dayananda Dalitoddhar Mandal, Hoshiarpur.*

Lala Lajpat Rai discussed the problem of the depressed classes from three standpoints;[19] from the point of view of the Hindu community; as a question of all-India importance; and in its humanitarian bearing.[20] Throwing light on the very problem from all-India importance and humanitarian points of view he said: "It is to be remembered that national decline has its origin in the oppression of others, and if we Indians desire to achieve national self-respect and dignity, we should open our arms

16. Bhan, Suraj, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

17. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Arya Samaj*, pp. 136-137.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

19. *Ibid.* (This question was discussed at Hardwar in the year 1912 when he was the President of a conference on the Gurukul Anniversary Day).

20. *Ibid.*

to our unfortunate brothers and sisters of the depressed classes and help to build up in them the vital spirit of human dignity. So long as we have these large classes of the untouchables in this country we can make no real progress in our national affairs. Such progress requires a high moral standard; and this is unthinkable where the weaker classes are unfairly treated."[21] He held that no man was able to build his greatness on his brother's weakness. No slavery, Lajpat Rai held, was more harmful than that of mind, and no sin was greater than to keep human beings in perpetual bondage. It was bad enough to enslave people, but to create and perpetuate circumstances which prevented them from breaking their chains and becoming free, was infamous. He firmly believed that there could be no real progress when an important limb of the nation was atrophied. So long as the depressed remained where they were, there was no hope of any improvement.

Discussing from point of view of Hindu community he said, "the depressed classes are Hindus; they worship Hindu gods, observe Hindu customs and follow the Hindu law. A great many of them worship the cow and obey their Brahman priests. They have no desire to go out of Hinduism unless it be impossible for them otherwise to better their position religiously, socially, and economically....There are agencies prepared to receive them with open arms if they would give up their ancestral faith. Indications are not wanting that many of them have already become conscious of the wretched position they hold in Hindu society. Some have begun to resent it, and it will be no wonder if large numbers of them leave Hindu society with thought of retaliation and revenge."[22] Hence Mr. Rai suggested that it was of paramount importance to Hindu society that all those who called themselves Hindus should not only be properly educated but should also be made to feel that there was no position in society to which they could not aspire if they were otherwise fitted for it by personal qualifications. He also suggested that the depressed classes would not desire to leave Hinduism if the latter make it possible for them to progress on humane

21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.* (Ed. by Sri Ram Sharma), pp. 123-124.

lines; but if in its stupidity it would hesitate and hesitate, they might not follow in its train much longer.[23]

Hence the greatest service, however, to the cause of the depressed classes, was rendered by Arya Samaj. It started the Shuddhi[24] movement to prevent low caste Hindus from embracing Christianity or Islam and to purify them for their inclusion of Hinduism.[25] In this undertaking it came into direct conflict with the proselytising work of the Muslim Mullah and the Christian missionary. The Muslim Mullah and the Christian zealot opposed it, yet the Samaj did not care the religious leaders of foreign land who were fanatic in their nature. The Samaj achieved a considerable measure of success in reclaiming Hindus converted to other faiths, and in stemming the tide of conversion. By starting Shuddhi, the Arya Samajists reclaimed untouchables to the privileges of the Dwijas.[26] They administered Gayatri[27] to a select number, invested them with the sacred thread, conferring on them the privileges of performing Homa,[28] and started inter-dining and in a few cases even inter-marriage with them. In Jammu-Kashmir the whole strength of one of these castes in one Pargana, about 10,000 souls, was admitted into the Arya Samaj.[29]

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23. *Ibid.*, p. 125. (Dr. Ambedkar succeeded in converting a very large number of untouchables to Buddhism after India's independence.)

24. *Punjab Census Report for 1911*, p. 148.

Shuddhi is a Sanskrit word which means purification. In religious terminology it is now applied to: (a) Conversion to Hinduism of persons belonging to foreign religions, (b) Reconversion of those who have recently or at a remote period adopted one of the foreign religions, and (c) Reclamation, i.e., raising the status of the depressed classes.

25. *Home Political Department (Confidential) Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4, NAI.

26. The 'Dwijas' were entitled to Upanayan ceremony from which the Shudras were excluded according to orthodox Hinduism.

27. 'Gayatri' was the prayer which every Dwija was expected to offer.

28. 'Homa' is a performance of sacrifice by putting ghee, sandalwood and other things into fire.

29. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Arya Samaj*, pp. 179 and 211.

In Sialkot, 36,000 of another caste were similarly raised. There was a special organisation for their education. Its name was *Megh Uddhar Sabha,* a society for the uplift of Meghas.[30] It established a central school and several primary schools. In Gurdaspur, Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta reclaimed several thousands of these people.[31] In Lahore, good work was done among Hindu sweepers and Chamars. Land was also purchased there to build a Central Home and Central School for the Depressed Classes Mission. Some primary schools scattered all over the province of the Punjab were started for the benefit of these classes. When the weekly meeting of the Wachhowali (Punjab) Arya Samaj was held on November 8, 1909, one hundred Hindus of low caste Kabir Panthi were admitted to the Arya Faith. The audience took sweetmeats from the hands of the new converts and ate without any hesitation. Leaders like Roshan Lal, Satya Nand and Radha Kishan delivered speeches to the effect that Hindus of all castes should have equal rights.[32] The Arya Samaj got sympathy of the orthodox party in some places. At the Punjab Hindu Conference at the suggestion of an orthodox Hindu Sadhu a resolution was unanimously passed to invite the depressed classes to send their representatives to the Conference in future.[33] In Lahore and some other places even high caste Hindus sent their children to schools maintained mainly for the depressed classes.[34] In the United Province also a large number of Domes (one of the most despised castes among the depressed classes) were reclaimed to the Arya Samaj. Here the Samaj maintained schools for the Chamar boys.[35]

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30. *Report of the 27th N.S.C.,* pp. 61-65.

In 1890, under the leadership of Sri Bhagat Badhava Ram the Meghas applied to the Sialkot Arya Samaj to be reclaimed. They were reclaimed and their social status was raised.

31. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, January, 1908, Nos. 111-118.

32. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Part-B, January, 1909, Nos. 106-112, NAI.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

In this respect the work of the *Shuddhi Sabha* under the leadership of Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta Choudhary was remarkable in the Punjab.[36] Here the Arya Samaj was largely instrumental in removing the blot of untouchability from the Hindu society. The Arya Samaj of Gujranwala openly took back into the Arya Dharma a Mohammedan by birth.[37] In the year 1897 the admission of converts from other faiths into Hinduism made progress. The Shuddhi Sabha admitted nearly two hundred Mohammedans into the Arya Dharma. Previously this movement had been confined only to the Punjab, but in 1897, there were instances of such conversions in Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, as well as Burma. The Shuddhi Sabha which was an inner organisation of the Arya Samaj, took lead in this movement.[38] In the year 1889 both, Christian and Mohammedan converts, were admitted into the Arya Samaj and in some cases into the Brahman and the Sikh communities. The number of such admissions was 25 or 30. In the Punjab several Christian converts were reclaimed by the heads of their own caste.[39] This work of taking back non-Muslims to Hinduism continued unabated. On June 14, 1903, a Muslim named Abdul Gaffoor, B.A., was converted to the Arya Dharma at Gujranwala. This was a memorable and great event in the history of the Arya Samaj. He was the first gentleman, Muslim by birth, to be converted to the Arya Dharma.[40] The purification ceremony of Munshi Abdul Kadir Khan, Mohammedan by birth, took place in the Mandir of the Meerut Arya Samaj on January 31, 1904.[41] In the Third Bombay Temperance Conference on April 27, 1904, the Arya Samaj also took part with other Samajas and societies.[42]

The Bharat Shuddhi Sabha (All India Shuddhi Conference) under the leadership of Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta invited distinguished persons to meet in Agra on January 25, 1909 and persons like

36. I.S.R., Volume-XXIII, p. 25.
37. Chandavarkar, N.G., *Speeches and Writings*, p. 125.
38. Ranade, M.G., *Essays*, p. 164.
39. I.S.R., Volume-X, p. 174.
40. *Ibid.*, Volume-XIII, p. 430.
41. I.S.R., Volume-XIV, p. 344.
42. *Ibid.*, Volume-XIV, p. 409.

Lala Ram Kishan, Roshan Lal and others took part in the meeting.[43] In the very meeting it was resolved that the Association had been established for the reclamation of outcastes throughout India and only those persons might become its members who were above the superstition of pollution by contact and who were ready to take back their outcaste brethren. They should be not less than 18 years of age.[44] The following rules were framed in the meeting:

> "Every reclamation (Shuddhi) shall be made in accordance with the Vedic rites. No purification shall be performed other than according to its contents.
>
> "Any person of the twice-born castes, who by becoming an outcaste has gone outside the fold of the Vedic religion, shall be readmitted into his own caste after purification and if the caste of an outcaste cannot be ascertained correctly, the question of his caste shall be decided by the 'Vyawasthapak Sabha' according to his character, qualifications and occupations.
>
> "The Association considers that the reclaimed persons need not observe the doctrine of pollution by contact and that inter-dining is allowable among all members of the twice-born castes...."[45]

A leading newspaper entitled *The Hindustan* of Lahore published the lecture delivered by Ram Bhaj Dutta and supported the views also. It stated that the attitude of the Sabha towards the followers of Islam would be one of love and peace, although it wished to purify all of them.[46] Now the Shuddhi movement became popular and even the non-Hindus began to embrace the Arya faith. Mr. R. A. Dickie, a Christian by birth, accepted the Arya faith and was finally admitted to the Arya Samaj in Delhi on June 27, 1909.[47] At Etawah about 360 Malkhana Raj-

43. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, June, 1909, Nos. 100-107, NAI.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *The Hindustan,* January, 1909.

Also *Selections from the Native Newspapers,* Punjab, Volume-I, (January-June), 1909, p. 35.

47. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, August, 1909, Nos. 120-129, NAI.

puts embraced the Arya faith and religion.[48] The 'Advocate' of Lucknow stated that 375 Rajputs, who were before that morning (Nov. 21, 1907) considered by the Rajput Biradari as Mohammedans, were admitted into the Arya faith. Some five or six hundred Brahmins, Kshattriyas and Vaishyas took sweetmeats from their hands.[49]

Thus the movements started by Pandit Ram Bhaj raised the status of depressed classes and gave a national outlook to the Indian people who began to love their own religion in place of foreign religions. The Tribune of February 15, 1911 appreciated this work of the Samaj and stated that it was one of the encouraging signs of the time that the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes was rapidly gaining in strength and volume. The Arya Samaj (and the Brahmo Samaj) did rightly their works by starting this movement. They educated and raised the status of the people of these classes.[50] Only due to this movement in Bombay a resolution was moved in the Legislative Council for the conferring of the equality of status to Mahars and other depressed classes with regard to facilities for education and appointment to public service. An important meeting was held last week (February 1911) in Calcutta, presided over by Mr. B. De, lately retired from the Indian Civil Service, which discussed the question of raising these depressed classes.[51] A leading newspaper of Amritsar admired the speech delivered by Pandit Ram Bhaj at the Shuddhi Conference of Allahabad and said that the movement was political in character. Dayananda welded politics to religion in order to make the movement a success.[52] The movement influenced the 13th Madras Province Conference, held in the Victoria Public Hall

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48. *Ibid.*, January, 1908, Nos. 19-26, NAI.

49. *The Advocate*, November 21, 1907. Also *The Vakil*, January 21, 1911.

50. Selections from *Native Newspapers*, Punjab, Part-I, January-June, 1911, p. 158.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

from 11th to 13th May, 1911, in which the problem of depressed classes was discussed and the resolutions were passed for the uplift of the depressed classes.

The movement became very popular and a large number of non-Hindus began to embrace the Arya religion. George Robertson alias Abdus Salam was received into the Arya Samaj at Agra who took the new name of Dharma Deo.[53] The Arya leaders of Gurdaspur in the Punjab converted Dumnas of Dinanagar to Arya faith.[54] In Sialkot, a pleader named Ganga Ram met with some success in converting to the Arya faith another low-caste called Meghs.[55] On September 3, 1912, Pandit Ram Bhaj with the co-operation of his wife converted about 1,360 Dumnas to Arya Samaj at Gurdaspur.[56] *The Tribune* mentions the heavy tour programme of Ram Bhaj Dutta in this connection.[57] The Arya Samaj appealed to the people to love the depressed classes in Western Uttar Pradesh. In Bihar and Orissa it had a strong appeal for low castes such as Kurmis, Goalas and Musaharas.[58] Lala Lajpat Rai helped Ram Bhaj Dutta in making the movement success. He visited Dehra Dun, Calcutta, Darjeeling and Benaras and held meetings. Meanwhile the *Arya Brotherhood Conference* of Bombay continued its crusade against caste. Towards the end of 1917 its third Session was held and five resolutions against caste were passed.[59]

The Indian National Congress was influenced by this work of the Arya Samaj. It did not think over the matter of social reform in its early years, but later on it had come round to the view that social reforms were to be attended to. At the XXXII

53. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, August, 1911, Nos. 4-8, NAI.

54. *Ibid.*, August, 1912, Nos. 26-30, NAI.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, October, 1912, Nos. 7-10, NAI.

57. *The Tribune*, September 3, 1912.

58. Pauline, M. Mahar, *"Changing Religious Practices of an Untouchable Caste, Economic Development and Cultural Change,"* Vol. VIII, No. 3, April, 1960, pp. 279-289.

59. I.S.R., Vol. XXVIII, p. 150.

Session of the I.N.C. (Calcutta, 1917), Mr. G.A. Matesan moved the resolution on the depressed classes: "The Conference urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience."[60] The words in which Mr. B.J. Desai supported the resolution suggested that the national emancipation of India depended upon social justice done to the downtrodden and lowly. He said, "I say that it is only social justice that will win for us the self-Government that we are seeking."[61]

Mahatma Gandhi,.though appreciated the great services rendered by Swami Dayananda, criticised the Shuddhi movement of his Samaj. About the Shuddhi movement he says, "the real Shuddhi movement should consist in each one trying to arrive at perfection in his or her own faith. In such a plan character would be the only test. What is the use of crossing from one compartment to another, if it does not mean a moral rise? What is the meaning of my trying to convert to the service of God (for that must be the implication of Shuddhi or Tabligh) when those who are in my fold are every day denying God by their actions."[62] But radical Arya Samajists did not care the criticism of Mahatma Gandhi. They were out and out radical and nationalist in their attitude. In the country of their birthplace there was no place for foreign religions and foreign rulers. They wanted India for Indians. By starting the movement, the Samaj tried to make India strong from every point of view. The very movement was a clear manifestation of the desire of the community to recoup its lost strength and further add to it. The leaders of the Samaj thought that the Hindu community would grow in strength and become democratic like the Muslim community, and would consequently cease to retard the national

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60. Report, XXXIII Session of the I.N.C., pp. 128-129.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

62. Gandhi, M.K., *Hindu Dharma,* p. 15.

(Mahatma Gandhi criticised not only the Shuddhi movement but also the Satyartha Prakash of Swami Dayananda. In his opinion it was a disappointing book which misrepresents Jainism, Islam, Christianity and Hinduism itself.).

development of India by its internal dissensions.[63] In other words the Shuddhi was looked upon by the Arya Samaj as a potent instrument for effecting that religious, social and political unity of India which came to be cherished as its great ideal though it was strongly resented by the Muslims and was a source of almost chronic feud between them and the Hindus.[64]

Of all the items of social reform that of education and emancipation of women engaged the attention of all schools of social reformers most. There might be differences between different schools of social reformers regarding the scope and nature of female education and emancipation; but as to the desirability of the item itself, there was no difference of opinion. The rationalist reformers, the revivalist and the orthodox all stood for female education and female marriage reform of some sort or other.[65] Women suffered because of their ignorance, of their infant motherhood, infant widowhood and abject dependence upon men.[66] Reformers might differ as to the merit of widow marriage, but nobody objected to the amelioration of the condition of Hindu widows.

In the ancient India women stood on a footing of equality with men in regard to education and marriage. In the Rig Veda woman is mentioned as maiden, wife and mother, and her rights and obligations as such are very chiefly alluded to.[67] As a maiden she had the same rights of protection, maintenance and education as a boy had. The girls were equally entitled to receive education and no limitations at all were set on their ambition in this direction. They were married according to the principles of the Vedas. The minimum age of marriage for girls was sixteen as compared with twenty-five for boys. In the choice of a mate both parties enjoyed equal freedom and equal opport-

63. *Selections from Native Newspapers,* Punjab, 1923, pp. 213-14.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Unhappy India,* p. 370.

unities.[68] In the family the position of the mother was higher than that of the father.[69] According to Manu, she was entitled to a thousand times greater respect and reverence than the father. She was in supreme control of the house and at the helm of household affairs, including finances. An ideal wife was never expected to earn her livelihood. In no case had male any legal control over the property of female. The whole duty, in brief, of husband and wife towards each other was that they crossed not and wandered not apart from each other in thought, word and deed until death. And the promise was they who righteously discharged this duty here shall not be parted hereafter by the death of the body but shall be together in the worlds beyond also.[70]

When the Arya Samaj was brought into existence the condition of women was deplorable. They had lost their high position in the family as well as in the society. Women began to maintain Purdah and depended on their male friends. Early marriage became almost universally prevalent among them and monogamy was replaced by polygamy. Swami Dayananda and his Arya Samaj were no less generous and no less bold in their crusade to improve the condition of women. Both advocated the complete emancipation of women.[71] They advocated that women should be educated. Like Annie Besant, they believed that the regeneration of India was possible only through the proper education of her women. Until girls were educated, until they were taught and trained, until they knew the glory of the past and taught the children on their knees what India was and what she might be, until Indian mothers were also worthy of the Indian women of the past, until they became patriots as well as the men and loved the land as well as their husbands—until these things were done in India, India must remain weak.[72] Dayananda and his Samaj laid stress on proper type of female education. It has been aptly remarked by O'Malley that femin-

68. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 117.
69. Ragozin, *Vedic India*, p. 373.
70. Das, Bhagwan, *The Science of Social Organisation*, p. 211.
71. *Dayananda Commemoration Volume*, p. 112.
72. Singh, Sita Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

inism and nationalism had gone hand in hand.[73] The Samaj believed that proper and equal education should be given to female and male. It believed that if men were educated and women uneducated, or women educated and men uneducated, then the house would be a place of constant warfare between the gods and demons and there would be no happiness.[74] Dayananda clearly advocated that a Brahmin woman and a Kshattriya woman should learn all sciences; a Vaishya woman would learn commerce and Shudra Woman the art of service.[75] Just as men should learn at least grammar, theology and the principles of their profession, similarly women should necessarily learn grammar, theology, medicine, arithmetic and art. Without this much, it was not possible to ascertain what was right and what was wrong, what sort of treatment should be offered to the husband and others, how household affairs should be carried on, how food should be prepared by hygienic methods, and how disease should be kept out and happiness secured in the family.[76]

Keeping all these points into consideration the Arya Samaj favoured strongly the female education and opened a good number of educational institutions for imparting education to girls. *The Kanya Mahavidyalaya* was opened by Lala Dev Raj in Jullundur in 1896, where the younger girls were trained on the Kindergarten system and the elder ones were taught cookery, sewing, knitting, embroidery and music, besides reading and writing.[77] *The Kanya Pathshala* at Dehra Dun was the another school for girls which was a High school. It was founded by Mrs. Maha Devi, the wife of Babu Jyoti Swarup, a pleader and the President of the Arya Samaj of Dehra Dun.[78] English, Sanskrit, Science, Mathematics, Drawing, Music, Cookery, Embroidery and Sanitary Science were included in the curriculum. Besides these two institutions, the Arya Samaj opened *Hans Raj Mahila Mahavidyalaya* in Jullundar, *D.A.V. College for*

73. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 695.
74. Saraswati Dayananda, *Light of Truth*, p. 112.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Report on Native Newspapers*, Punjab, 186, p. 205.
78. *Ibid.*

Women at Yamuna Nagar, *D.A.V. College for Women* at Amritsar and *D.A.V. Girls' College* at Batala. Besides these, the Samaj maintained a large number of girls' schools and colleges in several districts of the Indian Provinces. In the first half of the twentieth century the Arya Samajists started a movement for female education to a great extent. On July 10, 1907, Sarala Devi wrote a letter to the wife of Roshan Lal of Lahore in which she said that it would be better to devote the Hindu Ladies Fund to the improvement of Indians and to the establishment of the female schools, more particularly of the Indian women. She further said that if Indian ladies learnt to maintain their domestic affairs satisfactorily, they would be all the better equipped to understand their national affairs upon which depend their honour and chastity both during their married life and widowhood. She appealed to the women to be brave like ancient warriors of the sacred Bharat and to discuss political matters with their husbands.[79] She again expressed the same idea on August 31, 1907 in a society's meeting held in a certain city of the Punjab.[80] On October 26, 1907, Mahatma Hans Raj, while delivering his lecture in the annual meeting of the Peshawar Arya Samaj, laid stress on female education.[81] Munshi Ram, the Principal of the Gurukul University, Hardwar, attended the weekly meetings of Agra and Bijnor in the United Provinces in the month of October, 1907 and discussed the problem of female education with 90 persons.[82] On September 14, 1907, Ganesh Das, an Arya preacher, gave an address to the members of the *Hindu Shuddhi Sabha*[83] at Fatehgarh in Hoshiarpur District and stated that the Arya Samaj was wholly responsible for bringing

79. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, August, 1907, Nos. 5-90, NAI.

80. *Ibid.*, October, 1907, Nos. 40-49, NAI.

81. *Ibid.*, October, 1907, Nos. 80-87, NAI.

82. *Ibid.*, October, 1907, Nos. 87-89, NAI.

83. *Ibid.*, October, 1907, Nos. 40-49, NAI.

The Hindu Shuddhi Sabha was founded in Fatehgarh in 1906 by some Aryas. It was a branch of the Arya Samaj under another name. On the basis of the report of the C.I.D. it appears that its particular object was to promote the unity amongst Hindus, Sikhs and

(*Continued on next page*)

improvement in the field of female education.[84] On the eve of the yearly procession of the Arya Samaj of Lucknow, Gaitri Devi spoke on November 8, 1907 and asked subscription to open female institutions in Lucknow and other places of United Provinces.[85] On January 26, 1908 at a meeting at Hoshiarpur Arya Samaj School, Devichand, the Head Master, appealed to the women to get education and said that the Arya Samaj would always try to open institutions for them.[86] Similarly Bhai Permananda, M.A., delivered lectures at several places of Madras on the female education in the year 1909.[87]

The Arya Samajs, particularly of the Punjab, started to send out parties of Arya girls from girls' schools on tours round the country with their masters for gaining practical education. One such party under Lala Dev Raj from the School at Jullundur went to Kangra on August 31, 1910. There the master and two of the girls lectured at two meetings on female education. One of the girls named, Sumitra Devi, as an agent of the Criminal Investigation Department informs, delivered lectures with much force.[88] A similar party of 17 girls from the same school under Lala Mul Raj went to Hoshiarpur on September 1 in the same year. This party confined itself to sight-seeing.[89]

The Arya Patra of Bareilly published an article on female education in which it was described that the girls of the country in the ancient time were scholars in Sanskrit.[90] The editor

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(Continued from previous page)

Aryas. Each and every member of the Sabha used to keep an earthen pot in his house which was used as a receptacle for daily saving of flour and grain. These pots were taken out on every Wednesday and the contents were auctioned. The proceeds of these sales were chiefly devoted to the purchase of religious books of Hindus, Sikhs and Aryas.

84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*, January, 1908, Nos. 19-26, NAI.
86. *Ibid.*, February, 1908, Nos. 105-112, NAI.
87. *Ibid.*, February, 1910, Nos. 120-127, NAI.
88. *Ibid.*, November, 1910, Nos. 17-24, NAI.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *The Arya Patra*, July, 1910.

of the magazine advised that Sanskrit should be taught to the Indian girls. Mr. Jugal Kishore, an Arya Samajist, delivered a lecture at Begmabad of Meerut on the need of study of Sanskrit and Vedas and favoured female education.[91] The Hindu Education Conference held at Lahore on April 5, 1912 discussed the problem of female education. Mr. Joginder Singh, the President stressed on the fact that women should be educated and trained. He, therefore, recommended the opening of primary schools for girls in every village and town.[92] In the year 1914, the Benaras Arya Samaj popularised the movement in the local areas. Thus the Arya Samaj made an astonished progress in female education and this proves that it was not a mere idle talker, but a practical worker in the cause of education.

No real uplift of women was possible without radical reforms in the marriage system. Most of the disabilities from which women suffered were due to the evils which had crept into the institution of marriage itself. The Hindu marriage custom had many abuses such as polygamy, infant marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, unequal marriage, heavy dowry, and other ruinous marriage expenses and restriction of marriage within the narrow circle of sub-castes.

Early marriage was a national malady and all suffered from it. To take but a few examples, the Parsi Dada Bhai Naoroji was married during his 11 years to Gulbai aged seven.[93] Mahatma Gandhi was married at the age of thirteen.[94] Similarly Dr. Rajendra Prasad was married in 1898, when he was only thirteen with due pomp and splendour and lavish expenses were incurred.[95]

The Arya Samaj conducted a fiery crusade against the child

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91. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, June, 1911, Nos. 4-8, NAI.

92. *Ibid.,* May, 1912, Nos. 14--18, NAI.

93. Masani, R.A., *Dadabhai Naoroji, the G.O.M. of India,* p. 30.

94. Gandhi, M.K., *The Story of my Experiments with Truth,* p. 8.

95. Prasad, Dr. Rajendra, *Autobiography,* p. 20.

marriage and it succeeded in rallying public opinion to favour its view. The Arya Samaj fixed the minimum marriageable age at sixteen for girls and at twenty-five for boys on the principle of the Ved. Swami Dayananda had classified marriages into three groups—inferior marriages, medium marriages and superior marriages. Inferior marriages were those between women of sixteen and men of twenty-five years of age. Medium marriages were those between women of eighteen or twenty and men of twenty-five or forty years of age. And superior marriages were those between women of twenty-four and men of forty-eight years of age.[96] The Arya Samaj advocated the very idea for marriage and criticised the infant marriage. At the annual meeting of Arya Samaj held at Peshawar in October, 1907, a certain Arya Samajist named Jagat Singh spoke against the infant marriage. He objected to early marriage as the offspring of such unions were likely to be weak and unable to make a stand before an enemy.[97] Similarly Nanak Chand advocated against the infant marriage in several places of the Punjab. *The Women Branch of Arya Samaj* of Hissar took a leading part in the work of social reform and Puran Devi, who was appointed as a lecturer by the very Branch to deliver lectures among women, began to preach against infant marriage.[98] In the year 1911 the *Bharat Stri Mandal* (All-India Ladies' Society) started by Sarala Devi, appointed a Bengali Lady named Krishna Bhabini Das to impart instruction in the Zenanas of Bengal. Another society with which the same lady was connected, the *Mahila Milap Samity*, appointed a Bengali lady named Hironmoyi Devi to give lessons to married women. Both societies played important role in removing the practice of infant marriage.[99] In its movement against the infant marriage the Arya Samaj succeeded a lot though much still remains to be done.

96. Saraswati, Dayananda, *Light of Truth* (English translation of the Satyartha Prakash) by Ganga Pd. Upadhyay, p. 198.

97. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, October, 1907, Nos. 80-87, NAI.

98. *Ibid.*, April, 1908, Nos. 42-49, NAI.

99. *Ibid.*, June, 1911, Nos. 1-3, NAI.

In the matter of widow remarriage also the Arya Samaj achieved a great success. The question of widow remarriage was taken up by Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar[1] of Bengal and through his efforts the Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. Then there was no Arya Samaj in existence. But that law remained a dead letter for decades till the Arya Samajists came into the field and gave a strong impetus to widow remarriage movement. The Arya Samaj in this respect, left behind it all the other reform movements of the country, and several hundred marriages of child widows took place by its efforts. In March, 1900 the remarriage of a Vaishya girl Shrimati Parvati with Lala Kela Ram took place under the auspices of the Arya Samaj at Lahore.[100] On May 12, 1901 the remarriage of a Brahmin girl, Shrimati Radha Rani with Lala Sheo Lal Visha, an Arya Samajist, was performed at Jhansi.[101] At this very time the *Praja Mandal* of Mahuwa presented a memorandum to the Gaekwad on the Bill legalising widow marriage and expressed its opinion that widow marriage was sanctioned by the Vedas.[102] In June 1901, Lala Swarup Lal Agarwal of Muzaffarnagar remarried his virgin daughter to Lala Gobind Prasad. The Arya Samajists attended the marriage ceremony.[103] Though the orthodox Hindus and the Sanatanists were against the widow remarriage and the latter had discussion with the Arya Samajists at Agra, yet the Arya Samaj always succeeded in the teeth of many oppositions.[104] Hundreds of widow marriages took place year by year. Two notable marriages took place in the Punjab in March, 1906, one at Amritsar in the house of a well known

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100. I.S.R., Vol. X, p. 225.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

104. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, February, 1909, Nos. 2-11, NAI.

Many of the Sanatanist Pandits had succeeded in painting the most horrible picture of the attitude of the Arya Samajists, but to no effect. Several times discussions at Agra were held between the Arya Samajists and the Sanatanists and in these discussions Sanatanists tried their best to show down to the Arya Samajists. But in the long run the Samajists always won.

Arya Samajist, another in the house of well known Arya gentleman. The widowed neice of Mr. Roshan Lal, B.A., Barrister-at Law of Lahore, was married to Babu Jagdamba Prasad of Bareilly in the teeth of the bitter opposition from the castemen of the bride. Her parents too held orthodox views and it needed a good deal of exertion on the part of Mr. Roshan Lal to make them come round to his view.[105] In the long run Mrs. Sarala Rai Choudharani, General Secretary of *Bharat Stri Mahamandal,* waited on Mr. Montague and His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of a ladies' deputation from the Bharat Stri Mahamandal, Punjab branch, on the following, among other points: In view of the enforced widowhood of Hindu widows, many of whom were quite destitute and indigent, special institutions should be provided for widows endowed with scholarships for each inmate to make them self-supporting members of the society and help the Government in the supply of female teachers. Special provision should be made by legislation for protecting the interest of Hindu widows and daughters in matter of inheritance to the property of their husband or father. The interest of Indian wives should be safeguarded by making it criminal and unlawful for an Indian married man to marry an English woman. Indian women should be allowed to have the right of vote in Municipal and other elections. Indian women should be associated in all movements for the furtherance of female education. The control of girls' schools should be made over to Visiting Committee of Indian ladies. A strong female (Indian) agency for inspection should be substituted for non-Indian agency. An Indian ladies' Advisory Council should be formed for matters pertaining to female education.[106] Thus on this point the Arya Samaj created a revolution in Hindu society and Hindu widow remarriage lost the horror with which it used to be looked down upon sixty or seventy years ago.

Thus during the period from 1876 to 1920, there was all round improvement in the condition of women. The cumulative effect of all the forces working together was that Purdah

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105. I.S.R., Vol. XVI, p. 413.
106. I.S.R., Volume-XXVIII, p. 121.

began to be discarded more and more, people came to realise the importance of female education of one kind or another, women began to organise their own clubs and get themselves interested in public affairs, and last but not the least, began to appreciate the significance of earning their own livelihood. What is important to bear in mind is that with the growth of national consciousness there was also an awareness on the part of thinking people that justice must be done to the fairer sex and that without progress of women the general progress of the country was impossible.

To these it is justified to add the philanthropic services rendered by the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj was rival of the Ram Krishna Mission in this respect.[107] The Arya Samaj, outside Christian circle, was the first purely Indian association to organise orphanages and Widows' Homes. The first Hindu orphanage was established at Ferozepur in the life time of Dayananda which maintained schools and workshops for boys and girls for the purpose of training. There were a number of other orphanages on similar lines in Northern India, controlled and managed by the Samaj. And besides these many Hindu institutions and orphanages spread over India bore the impress and influence of the Arya Samaj and owed their birth and efficiency to the Arya Samajists. Of the first type some important ones were at Ajmer, Bareilly, Agra and Benaras. Of the second type were Hindu orphanages at Bhiwani and Kanpur.[108] There was a network of Widow Homes at all important centres in the Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Bengal and Central Provinces under the management of Sir Ganga Ram Trust.[109] During the period under review the Arya Samajists appealed to the people to establish orphanages and Widow Homes. Ganesh Das of Hoshiarpur,[110] Devichand at Lahore[111] and Lala Lajpat Rai at Allaha-

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107. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Arya Samaj*, p. 283.

108. Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj*, p. 117.

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, Oct. 1907, Nos. 40-49, NAI.

111. *Ibid.*

bad[112] appealed to the people to be kind enough for orphan children and widows. In 1909, Radha Kishan, the editor of the *Prakash*, demanded right for widows and appealed to the people to open homes for them.[113]

The Arya Samaj also started the Hindu Orphan Relief Movement for Hindu children who were deserted and left destitute by the famine.[114] Lala Lajpat Rai was the chief organiser of such relief. Appeals for help during the famines in the years 1896-97, issued under the auspices of the Arya Samaj, were generously responded to by the Hindu community in general, and by the members and sympathisers of the Arya Samaj in particular. About 250 Hindu children were rescued by agents deputed by the Samaj and were diverted into the Punjab where four new orphanages were founded to accommodate them in addition to the one already existing at Ferozepur.[115] During the famine period Lala Lajpat Rai delivered lectures at Lahore and Johalpur[116] and warned people to be conscious about the work of Christianity which was collecting friendless children and converting them into its faith. With the help of non-official missionaries and Government officials the number of persons relieved in the different provinces, when the famine was most acute, are shown in the following table:[117]

North-West Provinces & Oudh	May 1897	10,62,000
Bengal	June 1897	8,20,000
Madras	July 1897	2,15,000
Bombay	April 1897	4,78,000
Punjab	Feb. 1897	50,000

In the North-west Provinces and Oudh the famine relief opera-

112. *Ibid.* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, April, 1908, Nos. 42-49, NAI.

113. *Ibid.*, January, 1909, Nos. 106-112, NAI.

114. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 130.

115. *Ibid.*

116. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit). June, 1905, No. 37.

117. *Report of Indian Famine Commission* of 1880 and 1898. Volume-XXI, pp. 13-14.

tions were eminently successful. In the Central Provinces, th local authorities failed to grasp the situation, the operations wer inadequate, and the death-rate in the 18 districts of the provinc rose from an average of 33 to an average of 69 per mile in 1897 In Madras and Bombay, men died more. In the Punjab, th measures adopted were eminently successful.[118]

When the failure of the rains in 1899, generated anothe famine and the pinch began to be felt severely in Rajputana, th Central Provinces, Bombay, Kathiawar, and parts of the Punjab the Lahore Arya Samaj resolved to revive the orphan relief move ment. It deputed immediately one of its younger members, wh was a senior student of D.A.V. College and the Secretary o the local Young Men's Arya Samaj, to proceed to Rajputan and to help the people in the famine-stricken area.[119] Lala Diwar Chand Chaddha travelled Johdpur on this mission and stayed a Kishangarh, Ajmer, Beawar, Pali and other places to inspect th famine relief camps. During the period the Arya Samajic workers waited upon high officials in several Native States and trie to impress upon them their duty towards the orphans and othe destitute children in their territories. The Arya missionar brought several orphans from Rajputana to the Punjab wher they were given sufficient food and clothing. The Punjab Arya Samaj itself was at this time in crying need of help. Valuabl work was done by the Hissar Arya Samaj and the Bhiwani Hindu Orphanage.[120] Under the leadership of Lala Chandu Lal and Lala Churamani, the President and the Secretary of the Hissar Arya Samaj respectively, the Samajic workers relieved hundred of children and fought a noble battle against death and misery For Rajput children the Relief Committee submitted representation and memorials to the Commissioner of Ajmer and to the Deputy Commissioner of Beawar; but elicited no response. The Arya Samajic workers applied in person to the local officers incharge of the famine relief camps, but in vain. In Bombay the Samajic workers travelled so far as Surat and Baroda and strove to arouse in the Hindu public a sense of duty

118. *Ibid.*

119. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 130.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

towards the little ones of their own community who were in distress crying for help and sympathy. Similarly they launched a successful campaign in Kathiawar, the Central Provinces and parts of Bombay. They rescued about 1,700 children.[121] Lala Lajpat Rai again undertook the noble work of providing relief to suffering orphans. In an appeal to the public he said that a nation which could not protect its own orphans and waifs could not claim to 'command respect at the hands of other people.'[122] By the end of 1,900 more than 2,000 orphans were rescued and brought into well-organised orphanages, providing food, clothing and educational training.[123] Lala Lajpat Rai delivered a series of lectures on the point at Delhi,[124] Neemuch,[125] Surat[126] and Calcutta.[127]

In 1908, the movement was expanded and general relief was the aim. This was probably the third famine in which the Samaj and Lala Lajpat Rai particularly felt keenly interested. On February 15, 1908, he lectured at Meerut and appealed for subscriptions for famine fund.[128] He wrote an article for the Punjabi entitled, "*Famine in the United Provinces: A Mission of Enquiry and Relief*" in which he advised the Hindus and Muslims to take care of their waifs and orphans and to save them from clutches of the Christianity. On March 3rd and 4th he spoke at Lucknow and on 5th and 6th at Allahabad on famine and education.[129] On this occasion he was accompanied by several volunteers for the distribution of famine relief to whom many instructions had been given.[130] He visited Allahabad, Lucknow,

121. *Ibid.*

122. *The Tribune*, October 24, 1899.

123. Joshi, V.C., *Lala Lajpat Rai—A Biographical Essay*, p. 17.

124. *Home Public Department Proceedings* (Deposit), June, 1905, No. 37.

125. *Ibid.*

126. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *Ibid.*

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid.*

(*Continued on next page*)

Gonda, Agra, Cownpur, Aligarh, Muttra, Bijnor, Sitapur, Mirzapur, Kheri and other places. He addressed meetings there and collected money for distressed people. He received from all parts of the country nearly Rs. 80,000 for his Famine Relief Fund.[131] His emissaries visited Jhansi, Hamirpur, Banda, Jhelam, Allahabad, Gonda, Behraich, Kheri, Lucknow, Hardoi, Sitapur, Muttra, Jaunpur and Mirzapur and distributed certain amount of gratuitous relief. The emissaries really played an important role in removing distress of the people of the above mentioned places.[132]

The Famine Relief Movement sowed the seed of the national-

(*Continued from previous page*)

The following printed instructions were given to the Volunteers by Lala Lajpat Rai:

1. "Volunteers are requested to note that the work of the Relief Committee is purely philanthropic and that they should not carry on any religious and political propaganda along with it.
2. "Volunteers are required not to interfere in any way with official relief work.
3. "The principal work of the Volunteers is to relieve orphans, destitute children, and widows, but they are authorised to use their discretion in extending relief to other persons who may be in extreme distress.
4. "No orphans or children are to be removed from any district without the permission of a Magistrate, but children can be collceted at any place within the district and there properly fed and otherwise looked after.
5. "Volunteers are requested to keep detailed accounts of all sums expended and to send these, together with a report of the work done, to the undersigned once a week.
6. "Where no local committees have been appointed or local gentlemen have been requested to guide the relief work the Volunteers should take instructions from them and should carry on their work under their guidance.

—Lala, Lajpat Rai, General Secretary, *Arya Samaj*, Famine Relief Committee.

131. Modern Review, Vol. II, (July-December, 1909), p. 250.

132. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit) November, 1908, No. 7, NAI.

ism in the mind of the Indian people and gave an idea to go against the existing rule. All classes of Hindus, without regard for caste and creed, helped the famine movement and the movement proved a blessing in more ways than one. It engendered unity in the ranks of the Hindus and brought the literate classes into touch with illiterate masses as never before, creating new bonds of sympathy between them. It stimulated a healthy spirit of rivalry with powerful missionary organisations at work in the same field. It opened the virgin territory for the training of Hindu youths in methods of social services and enabled them to make several experiments in reviving indigenous industries through cheap time saving machinery within the reach of modest means for providing the orphans with employment. All the girls rescued were suitably wedded to men of castes higher than their own.[133]

The Arya Samaj also played a great part in the growth and development of national education in India. Both, the Flesh-eater and the Vegetarian sections of the Samaj, maintained a number of high schools and colleges and imparted the principles of the national education to boys and girls.[134] Their laborious hives were grouped round two model establishments; the D.A.V. College of Lahore and the Gurukul of Kangri near Hardwar.

The D.A.V. College was established in 1886 in sacred memory of Dayananda Saraswati.[135] This institution began to prepare scholars upto the highest standard and for the highest University examinations. Its objects were: (a) to encourage, improve and enforce the study of Hindu literature; (b) to encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas; (c) to encourage and enforce the study of English literature and sciences, both theoretical and applied; and also (d) to provide means for giving technical education.[136] Lala Hans Raj offered to serve the institution free of any remuneration. In course of time the institution became so popular that it became the biggest institu-

133. *Ibid.*, Part-B, November, 1909, Nos. 32-41, NAI.
134. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 61.
135. *The Arya Patrika*, June 20, 1888.
136. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Arya Samaj*, p. 191.

tion in Northern India in 1914 and probably the second in the whole of India in point of number of students. The teaching was done by the Indian teachers. The college taught Sanskrit, Hindi, English, Persian, Philosophy, History, Political Science, Political Economy, Logic, Elementary Physics, Chemisrty, Elementary Botany, Elementary Biology and Higher Mathematics.[137] One thing which placed the D.A.V. College above the other institutions of its kind was the ESPRIT DE CORPS and the patriotism which animated its scholars. During the famine of 1897 and the earthquake of Kangra in 1905, the students and teachers helped the sufferers.[138]

Besides, directly or indirectly connected with the college were a number of Secondary and Primary schools maintained by usual grants from the Education Department.[139] Mufassal schools of Peshawar, Multan, Amritsar, Batala, Dasuya, Patti, Shahpur, Delhi, Shujabad, Hafizabad, Lyallpur, Abbottabad, Kangra, Hissar, Ambala, Pundri Behrampur, Khanewal, Ahmadpur, Taran Taran, Hissar, Saliana, Chuharmunda (Sialkot), etc., were affiliated to the Managing Committee of the D.A.V. College.[140] The motto of the college along with all these schools was to spread the idea of national education. In the United Provinces also the Arya Samaj maintained several schools and colleges on the same line as the Anglo-Vedic or Anglo-Sanskrit Schools of the Punjab, their principal Anglo-Vedic school being at Dehra Dun.[141] The D.A.V. Colleges at Cownpur, Benaras, Lucknow and Dehra Dun were among the flowering institutions of Uttar Pradesh. Besides these there were numerous Inter Colleges and D.A.V. Schools managed by the Arya Samajists of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Ajmer, and other provinces.[142] The Arya Samaj also established several English schools such as Dayananda High

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137. *Ibid.*

138. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7, NAI.

139. Farquhar, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 125.

140. Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj*, p. 121.

141. *Contemporary Review*, May, 1910.

142. Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

School at Ajmer, the Doaba High School at Jullundur, the Anglo-Vedic High School at Jobner, the D.A.V. Pathshala and the Vedic Ashram at Aligarh, Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Ludhiana, Anglo-Vedic Upper Middle School at Mamanan, Arya Industrial School at Sialkot, Lekh Ram Memorial School at Faizabad and Arya Night School at Cownpur.[143] Hoshiarpur Arya Samaj opened a High English School in Dasuya on March 3, 1910.[144] On May 7, 1912, the Arya Samajists started a school at Benaras called the Vedvidyalaya and Dayananda High School.[145] In British Guiana Bhai Parmananda collected 800 dollars and opened there a High School on March 30, 1910.[146]

The Gurukul Kangri near Hardwar is the remarkable contribution of the Mahatma or the Vegetarian section of the Arya Samaj which aroused a new type of nationalism in India during the time of British rule. Its origin was due to the same spirit of revolt which compelled Dayananda to forsake his paternal home and become a wanderer in quest of truth. The Arya Samajists believed in propaganda work to spread the idea of nationalism. But they found that the effective success of that work also required an educational seminary, embodying their ideals of education. The dominating idea was to give a good trial to the system of education propounded by the Founder of the Samaj in his work. The high proficiency in Vedic Sanskrit and character building on Vedic lines were the objectives of the scheme. The Gurukula at Kangri was established by Munshi Ram in 1902 to fulfil the scheme which in due course of time became a breeding ground of new type of nationalism. It was the most interesting and promising experiment. It was, according to its Founder, an educational institution founded with the avowed aim of reviving the ancient institution of Brahmacharya, of rejuvenating and resuscitating ancient Indian philosophy and literature, conducting researches into the antiquities of India, of building up a Hindu literature incorporating into itself all that was best and assimil-

143. Sharma, V.L., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

144. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, April, 1910, Nos. 1-9, NAI.

145. *Ibid.*, June, 1912, Nos. 37-40, NAI.

146. *Ibid.*, September, 1911, Nos. 3-7, NAI.

able in Occidental thought, of producing preachers of the Vedic religion and good citizens possessed of a culture compounded of the loftiest elements of the two civilisations which had made their home in this ancient land of sages and seers.[147] "Our object was" says Munshi Ram, the Governor of the Gurukul, "a school where strong religious character could be built up on the basis of pure Vedic instruction. We recognised two great wants of the people —men of character and religious unity—and we set out to do what we could to supply these wants."[148] And this aim and object of the Gurukula produced several good citizens and men of strong character who were never prepared to accept the Western influence on the Indian culture. These products believed in evolution and not in revolution and hence did a lot of work for social uplift. This was bound to bring political nationalism. in India. The cultural nationalism emerging from the Gurukul became the mother of political nationalism in India in future. Once the editor of the *Vedic Magazine* said, "Education should appeal to the emotions, not to the intellect alone. A loathing for evil and love for good are the secrets of self-control and these can best be produced by the Gurukul system of education."[149] And the Gurukul Kangri appeals to the emotions of the people.

The Gurukul Kangri brought not only a new interpretation of the doctrines of the Aryan religion but also a new outlook on life and new conception of mental training. The Arya recognised fully that the development of an independent system of education must precede all attempts at reconstruction and readjustment of the bases of Indian society. This new attitude and outlook materialised in the Gurukul at Hardwar.[150] It tried to found an Indian University, out of which arose a new Indian nation.

Many critics criticised the Gurukul on the ground that it tend-

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147. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj,* p. 144.

148. Quoted, *Ibid.,* p. 145.

149. *The Vedic Magazine,* May, 1911.

Also *Selections from Native Newspapers,* U.P., Vol. I, January-June, 1911, p. 458.

150. *Modern Review*: *The Educational Probelm of Indian Nationals,* Vol. XXIII, No. 133, January, 1918.

ed both to an ascetic severity and a cast-iron formation. "In taking the children away from the realities of domestic life and interning them for nearly 18 years in the unreal surroundings of a Himalayan monastery, the Arya Samaj theorists show an absolute ignorance of the fundamental ideas of education. They forget the essential that an education which does not keep the child in touch with the realities of domestic life is no education at all; that to be left after 20 years of restless mental activity in an unexplained and to him inexplicable environment is not only harmful but positively destructive; that such a divorce of life in knowledge and life in reality can only lead to intellectual insincerity absolutely incompatible with true education."[151] The answer which the Arya Samajists made to this argument was that family influence in India was on the whole detrimental to the full development of the child. The home influence was almost invariably dangerous or softening. They said that their only hope of preserving the boys from child-marriage, maternal ignorance and the evils of cities lay in this monastic seclusion.[152] This line of argument takes for granted that it is for the elders of a boy to settle what is good for him and in effect that the mind of the child is soft clay to be moulded and shaped as his elders desire. "The Gurukul treats the children as no much raw material to be manufactured by a long time process into pious, patriotic, philosophical and literary citizens capable of carrying the Message of the Great Arya Civilisation to all the known parts of the world."[153]

The Gurukul laid stress on the physical and mental progress. The Arya Samaj believes that a healthy citizen can protect his nation and a qualified one can understand every problem of the nation. Therefore, the Gurukul produces healthy and qualified students. Here the students bathe in cold water before the sunrise, climb the steep jungle mountains near, and learn swimming in the Ganges. They also take part in games in the

151. *Ibid.*

152. Nevinson, Henry W., *The New Spirit in India*, pp. 307-308.

153. *Modern Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 133, January, 1918.

evening. Regular participation in games is required of all students. Naturally they are physically strong and can face any hardship in life. They learn many subjects. Though Sanskrit is the chief subject for their study, yet they read arithmetic, history, sicence, and English and unlike the Government Schools, all teaching is given in the vernacular Hindi so that the boys can understand subjects better, and can cover more ground, whereas in ordinary schools the learning is continually hampered by the foreign tongue. Thus the students taught on the Gurukul lines were far better conducted than the pupils of all other denominational schools. By establishing the Gurukul the Arya Samaj worked for the whole world and tried to produce good character to bind mankind to the heavenly father and to banish bloodshed, envy and malice from the world.[154]

Apart from this, the Gurukul imparted free education. The boys used to pay fees in ordinary Government schools of the country for their learning and Government was not spending much money on education. The education imparted was wholly unsuited to the condition of the people and had been steadily weakening the students physically and spiritually. The Gurukul removed all these defects and began to impart free education. As a result the masses got facilities to learn in the Gurukul.[155] At the same time the Gurukul began to impart education to everybody without any distinction of caste and creed and thus in doing so it changed the old social outlook and gave a new idea to the people.[156]

The products of the Gurukul came to realise that India was for the Indians and India should have her own education on Indian line, her own language, her own religion and her own dress. This type of idea began to prevail in India. The Gurukul education aimed at the deep-rooted national sentiment and tradition and supposed that "we are the heirs of an ancient civilization....In our curriculum, therefore, Hindu ethics and metaphysics will occupy a foremost place, the Western system

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154. *The Prakash,* December, 2, 1908.
155. *Ibid.,* February 23, 1909.
156. *The Vedic Magazine,* May, 1911.

being used only for purposes of contract and illusion."[157] The institution sought to resuscitate the energies of the race and to use at the same time the intellectual and technical conquest of the West. Thus this unique institution built upon the Vedic educational principles and purely national basis was bound to arouse the national spirit among masses and to germinate the seeds of new type of nationalism in India.

Besides the Gurukul at Kangri, the Arya Samaj founded and maintained a large number of other Gurukulas in several places. Some of them are at Indraprastha, Brindaban (U.P.), Baidyanath Dham (Bihar), Hoshangabad (CP). Daily (Meerut), Chittor (Rajputana), Sikandrabad (U.P.), Mahavidyalaya Jwalapur (U.P.), Kanya Gurukul, Dehra Dun and others.[158] Gurukulas at Gujranwala, Farrukhabad, Badaun, Potuhar, Mathura and Deolali were also important. In all these Gurukulas clothing, board and books were all provided free.[159] Mention may be made of three Gurukulas opened by the Samaj at Gujranwala, Dera Buddhu and Rawalpindi. The founder and the manager of the Gurukul at Gujranwala was Rallia Ram, platelayer, a bigoted Arya Samajist and a political agitator. Its aim was to impart religious and moral education, to enforce Brahmacharya (celibacy) up to 25 years and to enforce such mental and moral discipline as to evolve a strong type of character.[160] The Multan Gurukul is situated at Dera Buddhu, a small village some four miles from Multan city. It was founded by Choudhary Ram Kishan, a large and influential land-owner of this district.[161] The Gurukul in Rawalpindi district was at Chohar Khalsa. It was built at the grants given by Wazir Singh, Lakshmi Das, Rup Lal and Ram Das.[162] The Arya Samajists of Narsinghpur (CP)

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157. Ronaldshay, Lord, *The Heart of Aryavarta: The Psychology of Indian Unrest*, p. 59.

158. Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj*, pp. 147-148.

159. Farquhar, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 126.

160. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, March, 1911, Nos. 1-4, NAI.

161. *Ibid.*

162. *Ibid.*

started a new Gurukul for religious training in Sanskrit and Hindi somewhere on the banks of Nerbuda on March, 1912.[163]

The following are the some important educational institutions opened by the Arya Samaj which are imparting national education in India: D.A.V. College, Amritstar; D.A.V. College, Jullundur; Hans Raj Mahila Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur; D.A.V. College, Ambala; D.A.V. College for Women, Yamuna Nagar; D.A.V. College, Chandigarh; Dayananda College, Hissar; D.A.V. College, Abohar, Hans Raj College, Delhi; Girdhari Lal D.A.V. College, New Delhi; Dayananda Ayurvedic College, Jullundur; Sohan Lal Training College, Ambala; D.A.V. College, Sholapur; Dayananda College of Divinity, Hissar; Dayananda College of Law, Sholapur; Dayananda College of Education, Sholapur; Dayananda College of Commerce, Sholapur; D.A.V. Girls' College, Batala; Dayananda Polytechnic, Amritsar; Mehrchand Technical Institute, Jullundur; and D.A.V. College for Women, Amritsar. All these Arya Samajic institutions adopted 'learning, piety and patriotism' as their motive and developed the idea of nationailsm.

As an ardent advocate of Swadeshi, the Arya Samajists held that the ordinary requirement of every country should be supplied within that country. They were realising the bad economic condition of the country which was deteriorating day by day. They, finding that the British Government was not likely to come to take the industries of the country under the special protection, started the Swadeshi movement. It was essential for the reconstruction of the economy as well as the social and political unity of the country. Hence, Swami Dayananda laid stress on the Swadeshi and he was regarded as the first advocate of this movement though it got its strength with political colour after the partition of Bengal in 1905.[164] The gradual growth of the Swadeshi movement can be traced everywhere in India under the guidance of leaders of the Arya Samaj. The preachers and leaders of the Samaj, under whom the Swadeshi move-

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163. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, May, 1912, Nos. 14-18, NAI.

164. *The Arya Gazette*, September 21, 1905.

ment became the rallying cry of all-India, advocated in favour of Swadeshi and the national struggle for freedom began to extend from classes to masses.

Lala Lajpat Rai delivered a series of lectures in order to promote Swadeshi movement in the Punjab. In a meeting he appealed the Arya heroes to fly with their own wings. He pointed out that unity was a great factor for the success of the Swadeshi movement.[165] He also called upon the students to shed their blood for the promotion of the idea of Swadeshi. He said, "Young men, your blood is hot. The tree of the nation calls for blood. It is watered with blood....Let us forget our individuality for the sake of national progress....Students have written the world's history in red-coloured letters. The old cannot achieve what the young can do. Let us crown our national and Swadeshi movements with the cupola of martyrdom, so that the time may came for us to be reckoned among the nations of the world. If young men so resolve, we shall assuredly live and no one will kill us."[166] During the year 1906, he continued to tour and delivered lectures on the Swadeshi movement. While speaking at the Punjab Provincial Conference held at Ambala on 29th and 30th September of 1906, he said that the educated community of the Punjab should pay greater attention to the political movements (including Swadeshi) of the country and create real political environments among the masses for the success of the movement.[167] Referring the usefulness of the Swadeshi and Boycott movements in Bengal, he said, "They have raised the people to a consciousness of their power, they have taught the use of combination and for once in the history of British India the industrial and the wage earning classes in this country seem to be realising that their destiny and their bread is in their hands—and not in the hands of those handful of people who lord it over them...."[168] On March 27, 1907, he delivered a lecture in Allahabad on the New Spirit.

165. *The Paisa Akhbar,* December 13, 1905.
166. *Ibid.*
167. *The Punjabi,* October 10 and 13, 1906.
168. *Ibid.*

He drew attention of the people towards the Swadeshi movement and pointed out the means to be adopted to improve it. He advised the Indians to boycott British courts and start Swadeshi Panchayats for the adjudication of their disputes.[169] He presided at the All India Swadeshi Conference in Surat in 1907 and delivered a long lecture appealing Hindus and Muslims to unite themselves for the success of the movement.[170] At Cownpur, he delivered on the same topic on January 18, 1908, and said that there were three kinds of Swadeshi—Political, Social and Economic. Speaking on social and economic kinds of Swadeshi he said that the famine was due to the poverty of the country caused by want of arts and industries. Protective duties, according to him, were necessary, but the Indian Government being under the influence of European traders and merchants, was unable to improve them.[171]

As a devoted member of the Arya Samaj he was, thus, a votary of Swadeshi long before it became a popular slogan and political weapon of the Indian National Congress. The economic emancipation of India was dear to his heart and for this he considered self-reliance and self-help as essential as for political freedom. In the correspondence columns of the *Tribune* one comes across ample evidence of his interest in improving the material resources of India.[172] He was not pleased to see the gradual decline of the Indian trading class, like the artisans, in view of the business going into the hands of Europeans.[173] He wanted Indian businessmen to take up export of wheat to Europe which was in the hands of foreign business houses.[174] For obtaining maximum advantage of modern science and technology for development of Indian industry he emphasised again and

169. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-235.

170. *Ibid.* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.

171. *Ibid.* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, February, 1908, Nos. 105-112.

172. *The Tribune*, 5th and 9th February, 1891.

173. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part B, February, 1908, Nos. 105-112.

174. *The Tribune*, May 13, 1891.

again the urgent need for technical education for the right type. He was also an ardent advocate of joint stock companies for finding adequate capital for industrial development of the country.[175] He wanted Indians to take to modern banking and he was one of the promoters of the Punjab National Bank which was founded in 1895.

Besides the Lalaji, a band of other Arya Samajists took the task of popularising the Swadeshi movement on their shoulders. One Sunder Lal, an emissary of Lajpat Rai, delivered a lecture on the Swadeshi movement on July 21, 1909, at Allahabad and said, "Those foreigners who first came to trade in India had remained to rule. They plundered the country of its wealth and took it off to England. What had become of the gold and silver of the country? Where were the famous stones of the Somnath Temple? All were gone, stolen by foreigners. To remedy things Hindus must pledge themselves to boycott foreign-made articles and to encourage and foster home industries."[176] In another meeting held in August, 1909, in Calcutta he gave the meaning of Swadeshi and said that Swadeshi meant 'Swadesh Bhakti'; nothing in the world should stand against the people when they were determined to serve their own mother land.[177] A notice, sent to Babu Pyari Lal, son of Birbal (a carpenter of Ludhiana), was found by a C.I.D. agent. The notice inspired the countrymen either to use their best endeavours to secure self-Government or to be prepared to have the unpleasant duty of carrying a vigorous boycott of foreign goods, for the purpose of protecting and developing nascent industries of India.[178] Ram Dutta, Head Master of the Bahrampur Arya School, advocated a general boycott of English goods and appealed to the Indians to unite themselves.[179] The wave of the movement

175. *The Kayastha Samachar*, August, 1901.
Also Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Man in his Own Word*, pp. 39-44.
176. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.
177. *Ibid.*, Part-B, October, 1909, Nos. 110-117.
178. *Ibid.*, (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, October, 1907, Nos. 80-87.
179. *Ibid.*

reached the Bombay Presidency and the two Arya Samajic preachers—Birendra Nath Brahmachari and Ananda Nanda Swami —advocated there in favour of Swadeshi movement.[180] *The Punjabee* of Lahore published an article on the Swadeshi movement in the year 1907 in which it was stated that the Boycott was the basis of nationality and Swadeshi was impossible without Boycott.[181] The Arya Samajists of Cownpur decided to open Swadeshi sugar shop in August, 1907.[182] Dinanath, an Arya Samajist, opened a Swadeshi shop at Jhelum in December, 1907 and gave up the use of foreign goods.[183] During the time of the Arya Samaj anniversary of Lahore in December, 1908, about 200 youngmen took oath to spread the idea of Swadeshi and to boycott foreign goods.[184]

Similarly several newspapers of the Samaj began to publish articles on Swadeshi and Boycott movement. The *Sat Dharm Pracharak* of September 15, 1905, saw the benefits of the country and the people in Swadeshi.[185] The Arya *Gazette* of September 21, 1905, published an article written by Nanak Chand, a student of B.A. class of the D.A.V. College, Lahore and made the people to understand that the Swadeshi was a weapon for getting political freedom for the country.[186] *The Punjabee* of September 25, 1905, said, "All that is necessary....is a firm determination joined to sustain industry, and our Swadeshi Gospel would become a supreme regenerator of our dead and drooping industries in a short time; the same gospel would be a powerful constitutional weapon in the hands of the people to make the rulers of the land concede to them their just political demand...and in Swadeshism lies their terrestrial salvation.[187]

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180. *Ibid.,* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, August, 1907, Nos. 135-45.
181. *The Punjabee,* August, 7, 1907.
182. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, October, 1907, Nos. 40-49.
183. *Ibid.,* Part-B, January, 1908, Nos. 19-26.
184. *Ibid.,* January, 1909, Nos. 106-112.
185. *The Sat Dharm Pracharak,* September 15, 1905.
186. *The Arya Gazette,* September 21, 1905.
187. *The Punjabee,* September 25, 1905.

The Arya Messenger of the same year appealed to the Samajic leaders to take active part in the Swadeshi movement.[188]

The Swadeshi movement, thus, under the guidance of the Arya Samaj, became popular among the masses. It stimulated the idea of nationalism and the struggle for freedom began to extend from the educated classes to the masses. This movement, which owes its origin to Arya Samaj, became the popular weapon of the Indian National Congress after the partition of Bengal in 1905.[189] Almost all the characteristic features that marked India's struggle for freedom upto 1947, may also be traced to the Swadeshi movement. Even the Non-Co-operation and Passive Resistance had their origin in the Swadeshi movement.[190] This movement acquired an all India and national character almost immediately after its birth. It was the repercussion of this movement on Indian politics that gave rise to the Extremist or Nationalist Party under Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Khaparde and other leaders and readily changed the conception of political goal and the method to achieve it.

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188. *The Arya Messenger,* December 12, 1905.
189. Gandhi, M.K., *Hind Swaraj,* pp. 12-15.
190. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

Stimulus to Nationalism

The message and mission of the Arya Samaj to further the cause of Indian nationalism began to penetrate remote places of the country, and this nationalism percolated in the masses and made the national movement more broad-based. It was not confined to towns and townsmen, to the urbanised intelligentsia only. There were organised branches of the Samaj in the interior places which spread the idea of nationalism in the masses. The virulent and wide-spread propaganda through public lectures and distribution of pamphlets and leaflets of the Samaj explained its militant and radical views and the Samaj became popular among the masses. Due to its radical views, the prestige of the Samaj grew a good deal. All sections and communities, except Muslims and Government officials, had grown to revere it and looked to it as the embodiment of their longings and fighter for the redress of their grievances.[1] During the period from 1885 to 1920, the Arya Samaj was a great force in the nationalist movement. It is, therefore, wholly true that due to the attempts of the Samaj, a vibrant nationalism was growing and the masses were coming in close touch with it day by day. It was the Samaj which awakened the masses from their slumbers to a realisation of their rights and social defects.

There were several leaders of the Samaj who spread the idea of nationalism among masses and tried their best to make national movement more broad-based. Mention may be made of the emissaries organised by Lala Lajpat Rai during the time

1. *The Punjabee,* December 10, 1910.

of famines in India. The emissaries introduced a new spirit of nationalism among masses and a desire to strengthen national revival and lay the foundation of a freedom movement, a movement of Swaraj on constructive lines. There were several youthful enthusiasts who already made themselves conspicuous as social and political workers. One was *Sunder Lal* of Allahabad and the other *Gobardhan Das* of Lahore.[2] The former was a very promising student of the Muir College until he began to take interest himself in politics as the result of a visit paid by Lajpat Rai before his deportation to Allahabad and in the end he had to be expelled because of the violence of his speech at political meetings. The latter was one of the ring-leaders of the anti-European riot which took place in Lahore in April, 1907 and was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment which was afterwards reduced on appeal to six months. These two agents brought political consciousness among the masses during their tours in connection with famine work. Another of Lajpat Rai's emissary called *Mukandi Lal,* who worked in the Garhwal district, was like Sunder Lal for sometime a student in the Muir College where he used to interest himself in reading revolutionary literature and attending political meetings. When he went to the Garhwal district he was asked by the Deputy Commissioner to work in the Ganges Valley where assistance was most required, but instead of this he went off to Sub-divisional office at Chamoli and tried to convert the clerks there to his political views.[3] *Raila Ram* and *Madan Mohan* were the two emissaries who worked in the Allahabad Division. Both were the members of the Arya Samaj and had made their headquarters at Jhansi, working under the instructions of Babu Shanker Sahai and Pandit Perag Das, President and Vice-President of the Jhansi Arya Samaj respectively.[4] As regards these two men, enquiries were made in Jhansi by Inspector Nur Ahmad of the Criminal Investigation Department and the report made by him was confirmed by information given to the Collector of Jhansi

2. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

by Muin-ud-din Ahmad, Naib Tahsildar of Garotha, who was advised to suppress the information by the Tahsildar Chandu Lal and the Deputy Collector, Raghunath Prasad. The report was to the effect that though Lajpat Rai's ostensible object was charity, his primary object was to explain to the people in rural tracts their "rights" against Government, with the eventual aim of establishing a "national Government." A further object of his emissaries was reported to be to convert Mohammedans to Aryas. The disciples were enjoined to serve under a great national teacher, and Madan Mohan expressed the intention of going to Mr. Tilak at Poona.[5]

In Hamirpur district an emissary called *Chitar Sen* addressed the famine workers at one of the camps to the effect that they should die for their country rather than kill themselves with work seven pice a day. The Collector of Banda considered the object of emissaries partly political and partly charitable. In Gonda the most prominent agent was *Sunder Lal* Kayastha of Muzaffarnagar, who visited many places preaching Swadeshi and Boycott. Other agents such as *Sunder Lal* of Gonda, *Babu* of Jalaun, *Rajnath Brahman* of Meerut, *Karam Chand Thakur* of Sialkot and *Shree Ram* of Muzaffarnagar also were active in preaching political unity among people in different places.[6] Thus the Samaj's scheme of distributing famine relief was a poltical movement both in its inception and in its execution. Lajpat Rai's scheme was mainly a political movement designed in the words of a Zemindar of the Jalaun district "to attract the affection of the people from the Government."[7] This work was not wholly philanthropic but was intended to introduce the seeds of the "national movement" in the rural tracts and to prejudice the people against the efforts of Government.

Besides sending emissaries, the Arya Samaj employed several preachers on salary to stimulate the idea of nationalism all over India. The duties of such preachers were to deliver lectures in rural areas of different provinces. These preachers se-

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*

lected a few topics for delivering their lectures and the Swadeshi and national education were considered potent instrument in intensifying the national struggle for freedom and in broadening the base for it.

Hakim Rai, a Khatri of Lahore and a member of the Arya Samaj, spoke on January 23, 1907, at Lahore in favour of Swadeshi movement and urged his audience not to sit quiet saying "Han Hazur" (we are present, sir), to the English but emphatically to demand their rights.[8] Ghasita Ram, a preacher of the Samaj, discussed the subject "India is ours" at Lahore and went to rural areas to preach the same gospel to the people.[9] Similarly one Chandar Bhan, a Brahmin of Sonepat and an employee in the Arya Samaj on salary (Rs. 20 per month), lectured on the *'Aims and ideas of the Samaj and the Swadeshi Movement'* on May 26, 1907, at Jwala Mukli in the Kangra district. He urged general mass not to buy English things but to use things made in their country. He also said that foreigners were getting paid at the rate of Rs. 10 to Rs. 5 a day, while the natives only got eight pies a day. He condemned this policy of the Government.[10] Jogindra Pal, an Arya Samajic preacher belonging to Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur district, spoke on Swadeshi movement on March 1907, and urged the people to refrain from the use of foreign sugar which was refined with the bones of cows and other animals.[11] In Lucknow city lectures were delivered on topics of nationalism by the Samajic leaders. For example a lecture on the *"Love of Country"* was solely given on Swadeshi and boycotting English goods. In this lecture was an example given of some boys who destroyed a tin-box of English biscuits which was brought for an Englishman and in its place gave to the bearer a tin-box of Indian biscuits. The English gentleman resented, prosecuted boys and got them fined.[12] From this example it was inferred that English-

8. *Home Political (Confidential) Department Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.

men were very keen about their country-made articles and hated those made in India, though they be cheaper and of the same quality. The audience was advised to have the same keen interest for Swadeshi articles.

Similarly the Arya Samaj opened several national schools and secret night schools for the stimulation of nationalism in India. We have already discussed such institutions in the Chapter IV. Here mention will be made of the secret night schools which were opened to impart education to clerks, peons and poor boys. Such schools were opened in U.P., particularly in Lucknow city. In the opinion of the U.P. Government these night schools were "undesirable", because they were partly of the character of the schools and partly of 'debating societies.'[13] These schools appeared to have been started by the Samaj for young clerks and officials who wanted to complete their education and could not, because of their duties in day, attend ordinary schools and colleges. The Commissioner of Lucknow reported that in course of time these schools became less and less of schools and more and more debating societies. These, then, took on a political character, and apparently under Lajpat Rai's influence this character had become more pronounced.[14] The report further revealed that until lately the schools were poor and struggling, there were only one or two of them. The maximum number reached was five which were provided with sufficient funds. The local officers believed that the real purpose of these schools was to teach Swadeshi and Swaraj. The whole tone of the teaching was said to be to make the boys independent and to do things for themselves. It also appears from the confidential records that the lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini, published by Lajpat Rai, were taught there and that lessons were based on the recent history of Japan.[15]

Besides the night schools, there were also such Hindu schools which imparted religious and higher secular knowledge to the pupils.[16] Through the religious and moral instructions,

13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. O'Malley: *op. cit.,* p. 138.

the Arya Samajic teachers taught that without courage, without patriotism, without religious faith, without high ideals, without love of art and learning, without ambition and a sense of duty—it was impossible to take initiative in the progressive movements.[17] The aim of the Arya Samajic schools was to impart education to the general mass. This system of education had already been advocated by Swami Dayananda which was the only means to educate the general mass and to make them more nationally conscious. This was the factor which influenced the leaders of the country to give stress on the Vedic education under which the general mass was to be taught. None but the Vedic education was able to give birth to a new society and new nationalism unknown to all history. Here it was also true that many of the Indian leaders were not aware of the fact that while advocating a return to the pristine past, they were trying to build a new society; or if they were, for tactical reasons, they did not give expression to this awareness. One sees nothing in the utterance of Swami Dayananda which demanded a return to the Vedas and Indian education on Indian line, to suggest that he was trying to give birth to a new society unknown to all history. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi was conscious of the fact that this was his historic mission. But he also appealed to the past (education) and often stated that Ram Raj should be established in India.[18] Such education was wholly responsible to stimulate the spirit of patriotism and a sense of nationalism among the people. In the words of Munshi Ram, "Vedic Church supports Indian nationalism not only by inspiring nationalists with pride in the past and hope in the future, but also by creating reverence in the minds of non-Indian Aryas for India, the birthplace, nursery and seat of development of the system of thought which alone has given them solace of mind. ...It fosters healthy patriotism which statesmanship like that of Morley and Minto recognises as a force to be encouraged and enlisted on the side of law, order, evolution, orderly develop-

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17. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, November, 1919, Nos. 23-34.

18. Karunakaran, K.P. *Religion and Political Awakening in India*, p. 16.

ment and evolutionary political progress on democratic lines....”[19] Thus the Arya Samaj developed a militant tone and adopted a programme of educational movement. It revived the faith of Hindus in their past and enabled them to look with hope towards the future. It was a useful tonic to them and gave them courage to stand up for their rights. It touched the spirit of Indian people with a new life. It released a new fervour and a new spirit of enquiry.[20] By revealing to the people of India the glory of their past and the greatness of spiritual and cultural heritage through the medium of preaching and education, the Arya Samajists taught them to set their inferiority complex and to meet the challenge of imperialism with a strong faith in their own worth.

Soon after 1892, India saw the development of new spirit in the nationalist movement. It took the form of militant opposition to the British rule. This was the direct effect of the Arya Samaj on the Indian National Congress. Although the Congress continued to be dominated by the Moderate or Liberal nationalists, a new force arose within the organisation led by Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai. These leaders, like the Arya Samajists, were militant nationalists. They began to speak with a new voice and tried to change the tone as well as the tempo of the Congress movement. They were known as ‘Extremists’, because they had a radical outlook and they advocated active resistance to British imperialism. This new spirit of militant nationalism received truly much inspiration from the movements of religious revival and the teachings of Swami Dayananda, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ram Tirth and Annie Besant had a deep influence on the leaders of radical nationalism. These leaders had a deeply religious outlook and like Dayananda they stood for all that was best in India’s ancient culture. Tilak revived the ancient glory of India by starting Ganpati and Shivaji festivals. B.C. Pal also looked upon the reawakening of the national consciousness as the revival of the ancient idealism of the

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19. *Ibid.*, Appendix-P., p. 232.

20. Bombwell, K.R., *Indian Politics and Government Since 1885*, p. 21.

Sakti cult.[21] Aurobindo Ghosh had also firm faith in the philosophy of Dayananda and like the Swami found all germs of wisdom and science in the Vedas. On this point he even went one step further and said, "I will even add my own conviction that Veda contains other truths of a science the modern world does not at all possess, and in that case, Dayananda has rather understated than overstated the depth and range of the Vedic wisdom."[22] Thus the Arya Samaj had influenced the extremist leaders and the militant nationalism was steeped in a religious spirit. The alliance between nationalism and religious revivalism gave people a new feeling of manly self-reliance and a determination to resist foreign domination and to undergo suffering, make sacrifices if necessary. They wanted 'Swaraj' and not 'Suraj'. They also advocated Swadeshi and thus popularised the views of Swami Dayananda.

The Indian National Congress had many recruits from the ranks of the Arya Samaj. The most important of them were Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of the Punjab and Swami Shraddhananda, the 'problem' for the British Raj. The former was one of the three leaders of Indian extremism. The teachings of Dayananda had greatly influenced him and he joined the Arya Samaj in 1882. He soon became a leading leader in the Arya Samaj movement. This was a turning point in his life and he always looked back on this event with pride and gratitude. His attachment to the Samaj was not based primarily on its religious dogma; he was drawn to it by its nationalistic outlook, its social reform programme and its educational mission. The Samaj stimulated his patriotic impulses and the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-reliance and self-help.[23] This was why he became not only a selfless patriot but a great philanthropist, educationist, religious reformer and social worker. At the same time, the Samaj prepared him for the larger and more vital field of political work. He was admired as one who acted upon every word of the Swami's teachings.

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21. Pal, B.C., *The Spirit of Indian Nationalism*, pp. 36-38.
22. Ghosh, Aurobindo, *Bankim-Tilak-Dayananda*, pp. 397-398.
23. Joshi, V.C., *Lala Lajpat Rai: A Biographical Essay*, p. 8. Also *Lajpat Rai: Autobiographical Writings*. (Edited by V.C. Joshi), pp. 29-30.

Lala Lajpat Rai entered the Indian National Congress in the year 1888 and soon became one of the foremost public men of his time. He was a public speaker of the first order and helped in the spread of national consciousness among the common people. As a public speaker he and Lloyd George were together and they had equal capacity for rousing the indignation of the masses.[24] Like other extremists, he too was an ardent patriot, was proud of his country, her civilization, her literature and her great place in the world's history. He believed that India was destined to have a great future, commensurate with her great past. But then she was a subject land, ruled by a foreign power, her own people having practically no voice in the direction of their own national affairs or the shaping of their future destiny.[25] He felt pained to see such deplorable condition of his mother-land. He too accepted Swaraj, Swadeshi and Boycott as the new religion of India. During his stay in London he had witnessed some mass demonstrations and he advocated the use of such instruments to create an effect on the Raj. He wanted a change in the nature of the Congress programme to make it acceptable to the people and to secure their support for the national movement. In a letter to Babu Ganga Prasad Verma of Lucknow, Lajpat Rai wrote, "Unless you are prepared to change the nature of your (Congress) movement in this direction you are not likely to make any progress towards political freedom at all and I am sure that if the Congress will not take the initiative in this matter some other movement may have to be set up to do the same and then the Congress will dwindle into insignificance."[26]

The Lala was a nation-builder. He asked his countrymen not to depend on outside help or to beg for political concessions from their British rulers.[27] He said that an English hated nothing like beggary, and that a beggar deserved to be hated.[28] Some

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24. Chintamani, C.Y., *Indian Politics since the Mutiny,* p. 118.

25. Rai, Lala, Lajpat, *Young India,* pp. VIII-X.

26. *Gokhale's Papers,* Letter No. 2964, Lajpat Rai to Ganga Prasad, August 3, 1905.

27. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Young India,* p. 110.

28. *Report, 21st I.N.C.,* p. 73.

Moderates believed that if the Liberals came to power in Britain, they would introduce certain political reforms into India[29] But the Extremists believed that in matter of Indian administration even the Liberals would adopt the policy of the Conservatives. Mr. Tilak was of this opinion.[30] Lala Lajpat Rai was also convinced that the attitude of Liberals towards India was not much better than that of the Conservatives.[31] He had visited Britain in 1905 and studied the psychology of the Liberals too. So he hated the Liberals as well as the Conservatives.[32] He also thought that whatever help India could receive from Britain would come primarily from the democratic and socialistic parties which represented the working class of Britain.[33] But he advised his countrymen not to seek outside help. He asserted in Bombay: "Nations are by themselves made."[34] He was ready to welcome co-operation and guidance but not patronage of foreign countries. "We shall welcome co-operation", he says, "we shall welcome advice. We shall welcome guidance also in certain matters. But we shall resent patronage and dictation...."[35] He also enhanced the idea of superiority among masses and declared, "we are inferior to none of the earth,... in no department of associated life or private life are we inferior to any nation in the world. What are we inferior in? We have been inferior in the capacity to unite, we have been inferior to a certain extent in adaptation to the modern requirements, we have been inferior in learning the lesson of modern diplomacy."[36] As a nation-builder, he demanded sacrifices from the people of India. He declared that the basic problem of India could not be solved by speeches or resolutions only. What was needed

29. *Ibid.*, 22nd I.N.C., pp. 27-28.

30. Tilak, B.G., *Two Remarkable Speeches*, p. 3.

31. *The Indian Review*, "*India and English Party Politics*", November, 1905, pp. 750-751.

32. *The Empire Review*; "*The Administration of India: Government by a Privileged Caste.*" December, 1905, p. 363.

33. *The Indian Review*, *op. cit.*

34. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Call to Young India*, p. 43.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

was preparedness to undergo sacrifices for the cause of the country. He, therefore, strongly disapproved of begging for rights and insisted that rights should be claimed.[37] The Sanjivani's advice that "prayers and lamentations avail nothing, the only way to deliver mother India is by her sons herat's blood" was followed by Lala Lajpat Rai and he spread the same idea through the medium of his 'Punjabee.'"[38]

Lajpat Rai wanted Swaraj. He was very sorry to see India in the hands of the aliens. He believed that English rule was not beneficial for Indians because they lost everything of their own. They lost their money, experiences of administration and culture. He, therefore, advocated Swaraj and appealed to the people to realise that 'chains are chains, no matter if gilded.' A man who had a real soul would be able to cut this chain. A man without a soul was mere animal. A nation without a soul was only a herd of 'dumb driven cattle' and such were the Indians of the day.[39] So he encouraged Indians to rise against their slavery and to shed blood for obtaining Swaraj.[40] He believed that the food on which the tender plant of liberty thrived was the blood of the martyrs. He held that Swaraj was to come if one would make sacrifice. "The first lesson", he says, "which every Indian politician ought to take to heart is that no nation is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them."[41] He, therefore, condemned the Moderates as a section of beggars who pleaded for charity from the Government instead of realising that "sovereignty rests with the people, the State exists for them and rules in their name."[42]

Lala Lajpat Rai also claimed that the historical and religious unity of India embodied the basis of Hindu nationalism and

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37. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Writings and Speeches*, Vol. I, Ed. by V.C. Joshi, pp. 26-29.
38. *The Sanjivani*, November 20, 1895.
39. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Young India*, p. 86.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
42. *East and West*, August, 1902, Vol. I, p. 1041.

that it was a mistake to attribute the development of Indian nationalism solely to modern Western influences. In his article entitled, "*A Study of Hindu Nationalism*", he contended that it was wrong to suppose that nationalism required the complete fusion of religious, social, economical and political action and argued that differences and controversial discussions were absolutely necessary for the healthy growth of nationalism provided one unifying ideal overruled minor difference. He futher argued that all Indians should share the feelings of nationalism as the one ideal which would be sufficiently broad and extensive to include all who took pride in one common name, common ancestry, common history, common religion, common language and common future.[43] If this was lacking, Lajpat Rai argued, it was still sufficient for the growth of Indian nationalism if all Indians, irrespective of their differences, would at least share a sense of unity in struggling together against a common enemy. In the same article he warned that if the Congress decided to preserve an attitude of inaction in social, religious and political matters, it would result not only in the weakening of Indian nationalism, but in stagnation and the gradual extinction of Indians as a distinct nation. He concluded by asserting that the social and political improvement of Indians involved a struggle amongst themselves as well as against others.[44]

Lala Lajpat Rai also advocated Hindu-Muslim unity for the growth of Indian nationalism. He appealed to Hindus and Muslims to be united with a determination to win Swaraj at any cost. On March 26, 1907, he addressed a meeting at Allahabad in which he said that Mohammedans were afraid that being in a minority, after the attainment of Swaraj, they would suffer at the hands of Hindus. He tried to remove this idea from the minds of Muslims and said: "They must remember that when a representative government is formed, steps are taken to secure the rights of minorities."[45] He also advised them and their Hindu brothers to stand upon their own feet and not upon the

43. *Kayastha Samachar*, September-October, 1902.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-236, NAI.

Englishmen. He concluded by asserting that when they would be united in the interest of the country, no force in the world would be able to separate them from each other.[46] Lajpat Rai, after giving the causes of dissension between Hindus and Muslims, requested the Muslims to make unity with the Hindus. In his long article entitled, *"Hindu-Muslim Unity"*, he said that the chief causes of disunity between them were the killing of cows by the Mohammedans and the playing of bands in front of mosques by the Hindus. In his opinion this was bad. The Mohammedan leaders ought to dissuade those of their co-religionists who lived in villages where the majority of the inhabitants were Hindus, from sacrificing cows or at least should do so at some distance from the village. The Hindu leaders, on the other hand, should ask their co-religionists not to object to the practice of sacrificing on the Id day. As regards the playing of bands in front of mosques, Lajpat Rai advised that each community ought to have regard for the religious feelings of other communities, and the Hindus ordinarily ought to stop playing music when passing in front of the mosque at the time of prayers.[47] In a magazine called '*Zamana*' of February 1911, he dwelt at other causes of the rift between the two. These were: (1) the number of seats that each community wished to acquire on the local and the Imperial Councils; (2) Government posts; (3) Hindu-Urdu controversy; and (4) the propaganda of the Arya Samaj.[48] As a remedy, Lala Lajpat Rai suggested that the Hindus and Muslims on the Councils should strive to serve the masses rather than their own interest. He asked them to join forces in making education free and disseminate it among the ignorant people and the result would be that after a decade both the communities would be able to understand their common good and leave off fighting among themselves for petty favours. For the second cause, he said that the Hindus should make room for the Mohammedans in Government offices. As

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46. *Ibid.*

47. *Selections from the Native Newspapers,* U.P., Part-I, January-June, 1911, pp. 236-237.

48. *The Zamana,* February, 1911.

regards the language controversy he said that "it is a pity that this subject is now being pressed too far. The Mohammedans want to make Urdu the national language of India and the Arabic alphabet as the universal character. The Hindus all over the country are also pressing the same claim of Hindi."[49] Lajpat Rai faced difficulty at that time to arrive at a mutual understanding; but so far as Upper India was concerned, he considered that Hindi ought to be the court language of the United Provinces where the Hindu population was about 90 per cent of the whole, while Urdu ought to continue as the court language in the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sindh where the Mohammedans were in majority. As regards the so-called aggressive propaganda of the Arya Samaj, the Lala said that the charge was absolutely without any foundation. If the Mohammedans felt annoyed at the propaganda of the Arya Samaj the Hindus were also equally dissatisfied with the views of the Aligarh Party. He concluded by making an appeal to the leaders of both the communities to dissuade their people from carrying tales against each other to the officials, as such conduct was both shameful and degrading.

Some people believed that Lajpat Rai was a violent sectarian, a far too faithful guardian of the Hindu faith.[50] This would, however, be a cruel mistake. He never opposed the progress of other faiths in all legitimate manner. In his address as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1925, he stated that "Hindus had no political aims of their own separate from those of their countrymen of other faiths."[51] He also denounced the talk of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. During the time of general election he opposed the idea of the Mahasabha running its own candidates for the legislatures. He declared: "I am in favour of organising the Hindu community, strengthening and solidifying it religiously, socially and economically, but I do not favour the idea of Hindus setting up a separate political existence of their own."[52] He believed that Hinduism could not thrive by

49. *Ibid.*
50. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Call to Young India*, p. 39.
51. *The Tribune*, March 2, 1926.
52. *Ibid.*

perpetuating communal quarrels in a way incompatible with the growth of nationalism. He, therefore, gave no quarter to those who indulged in insults to religions. When the publisher of *Rangila Rasul,*[53] a scurrilous pamphlet on the prophet of Islam, was acquitted by the Punjab High Court in 1927, Mr. Rai declared the publisher to be morally guilty. He even went to the length of supporting the Government in amending the law to deal effectively with such offences even though it amounted to curtailment of civil liberties.[54] Giving warning to the Arya Samaj in 1914 he said, "The Arya Samaj has to remember that India of today is not exclusively Hindu. Its prosperity and future depends on the reconciliation of Hinduism with that greater 'ism'; the Indian Nationalism, which alone can secure for India its rightful place in the comity of nations. Anything that may prevent, or even hinder, that consummation is a sin for which there can be no expiation."[55] He was happy to witness the friendly feelings among the two communities on his return to India in 1920. He delivered a lecture at Bombay on February 20, 1920, and giving his message to both the communities he said, "My friends, I must tell you that henceforth we should recognise it as a fundamental doctrine that the unity of the Hindus and Mohammedans will be a great asset to our political future. In this unity we shall not be guided by the temporary benefits of this community or that. We shall not adopt it as a measure of political expediency. But we shall adopt it as a fundamental doctrine of our faith to stick to our death-beds until we win our freedom. Not only till then only, but thereafter, too, we shall live in this country as brothers determined to work together, determined to resist together and determined to win. This is one of the fundamental doctrines which we must adopt as a first article of our political faith."[56]

Lala Rajpat Rai even supported the Indian Muslims in their

53. File No. 27|11 of 1929, NAI. (Ishwari Prasad Sharma and Mukul Lal Verma were the authors of the article. They were Arya Samajists).

54. Rai, Lala Lajpat. *Writings and Speeches,* Vol. II, pp. 360-363.

55. Quoted In Joshi, V.C., *Lala Lajpat Rai: A Biographical Essay,* p. 43.

56. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Call to Young India,* p. 127.

attempt to get the Khilafat wrong redressed. He said, "English Statesmen object to the interference of Indian Mohammedans in the affairs of the Turkish Empire. India should emphatically record a protest against that view. Turkey was defeated mainly by the Indian army for which India paid. That fact alone gives every Indian, Hindu or Mohammedan or Buddhist, a right to be heard in the Turkish Settlement....The Turkish question is an Indian affair and must receive our best attention."[57] To strengthen the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity in India on the question of Turkish problem he held that, "it was a national duty to focus and consolidate Indian opinion on the Turkish question and to press it on the British people for consideration."[58] It was not a question, Mr. Rai asserted, that affected Mohammedans only but every Asiatic and every Indian, nay every human being.

Thus Lala Lajpat Rai devoted his attention to bring unity between the two communities for strengthening Indian nationalism and also realised the basic need for a definite and abiding understanding about the position which the communities had to occupy in the future Government of the country. He stated that what we aimed at was not the merging or the absorption of the one into the other, but the integration of all into one whole, without in any way injuring or lessening each group individuality.

Lala Lajpat Rai imbued 'New Spirit' and 'New Nationalism' in social field also. To him and his Arya Samaj "reform was revival and revival was reform." He, therefore, turned his attention towards social reform and national progress. To him social efficiency was the key to national prosperity. He disagreed with those Hindus, who, educated on Western lines, thought that the genius of Hinduism was essentially individualistic and anti-social, and so no substantial reform in social life was possible out of a revival of the past. Hence the Indians must draw on the West; the new social edifice was to be built on rationality, as distinguished from nationality in religious

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

and social life.[59] But the question of social reform was, Lalaji held, of paramount importance to national life and the whole future of the nation depended upon the amount of social efficiency secured and displayed.[60] Social efficiency was necessary for the Hindus to hold their own in the stress and strife of the modern world of competition. No nation as such could be spiritually high or pure which was socially corrupt and degraded or inefficient. So society was to be reformed, but in keeping with the national spirit.

Lajpat Rai wanted to be proud of the Aryan greatness, to love the Vedic religion and to make sacrifices for the country. His religion was not of the market place or of the society or theocratic variety. His religion was of a nation-building and nation-uplifting variety. While addressing the students of the D.A.V. College, Lahore on June 25, 1908 on the "*Place of Religion in National Life*", he endeavoured to show that political reform depended upon the religion.[61] The Jews and Negroes did not progress as they had no religion, and the Protestants were persecuted by the Roman Catholics outwardly owing to religious differences but really for political reasons. The principles of the Hindu religion, he stated, had saved the Hindus from extinction in the past, and would still save them; and in future Europeans would learn the value of these principles.[62] His religion was of progressive nature. "In judging of religion," he wrote years ago, "what has to be seen is whether it gives sufficient importance to the different requirements and the different sides of human nature without sacrificing one for another. To be a perfect and sound religion, it must made adequate provision for the harmonious development of all these sides of human nature which are to form the basis of the upward progress of man. Such a religion cannot afford to neglect even the physical side, much less can it throw into

59. *The Hindustan Review; The Social Genius of Hinduism*, Vol. IX, New Series, p. 311.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

61. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7.

62. *Ibid.*

the background the social...."[63] He did not of course mean to say that it should neglect the development of the individual soul. Indeed he prided himself on the emphasis which Hinduism laid on individual spiritual development. Religion in his view had a duty to society, and it was one of its supreme functions to forward and facilitate the advancement of society towards perfection through progress at once simultaneous and all round. So his religion appealed for social reform, and demanded sacrifice for the mother-land.

It was this religion which led Lala Lajpat Rai to reform the Hindu society. He had a great and abiding faith in Hindu principles and his heart yearned to see that the noble heritage contained in his religion should not be lost to his country by any blindness, ignorance or lack of vision on our part. It was a very common thing in those days, "to give away the orphans and the starving left guardianless to be taken care of by whosoever that willed to do so and specially to the foreign missionaries who proselytised these orphans and the breadless and gave them some sort of work to eke out their livelihood."[64] Lala Lajpat Rai wanted to see that Hinduism was not this way undermined and humiliated. He, therefore, entered upon this noble career of helping the starving, the houseless, and the depressed and organised relief works in times of famines and whenever necessary and orphanages under the auspices of the Arya Samaj.[65] As the General Secretary of the Arya Samaj Orphange at Ferozepur, as a member of the Managing Committee of the Waifs' Orphanage at Meerut, as the Organiser of the Hindu Relief Fund in the great and devastating famines of 1897 and 1899 which gave relief to over 2,000 souls—Lala Lajpat Rai gained great experiments and experiences as a social worker and earned for him such reputation as a successful worker that the Government invited him to give evidence before the Famine Commission of

63. Quoted in Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Call to Young India*, p. 10.

64. Quoted. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

65. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), November, 1908, No. 7 (His famine works have been fully discussed in Chapter IV in this thesis).

1901.[66] During the famine work, he particularly emphasised the point that "no help should be received or tolerated as a price for change of religion."[67] We have already discussed his attempts for the uplift of the depressed people.

Lala Lajpat Rai thus occupies a great place in the history of the Arya Samaj and in the national movement of India. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "Lalaji means an institution. From his youth, he made, of his country's service, his religion. His patriotism was no narrow creed. He loved his country because he loved the world. His nationalism was internationalism....He was an ardent social and religious reformer.....He became politician because his zeal for social and religious reform demanded participation in politics.....He founded educational institutions. He befriended the suppressed classes. Poverty, wherever found, claimed his attention....In the political field he was indispensable...."[68] Lajpat Rai's patriotism was translated into several concrete things. D.A.V. College, National College, Tilak School of Politics, Dwarkadas Library, Punjab National Bank, Lakshmi Insurance Company, Bande Matram (an Urdu Daily), the People (English weekly), Gulab Devi Hospital, Servants of People Society were living monuments to this great man.[69]

The theories of Lala Lajpat Rai stimulated the feeling of hatred against the British Government. He, therefore, was an obstacle in the growth and development of the British Raj in India. Naturally he became the target of the British Government and was deported on May 9, 1907 at 2 P.M. The British Government did not disclose fully the grounds upon which it took action against the Lala. When questioned on the subject in the House of Commons by some Liberal Members of Parliament, the Secretary of State for India generally took shelter under the stereotyped reservation that it was not in the public interest to make a full statement.[70] Mr. Morley failed to give

66. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Call to Young India,* p. 16.
67. *The Punjabee,* February 29, 1908.
68. Quoted in Parvate, T.V., *Makers of Modern India,* p. 64.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Story of my Deportation,* Int., p. 1.

any good grounds for his action. He gave his statements from time to time regarding the deportation of the Lala; but his facts were invariably wrong and his information faulty and incomplete.

The English authority tried to prove that the Lala was responsible for the chaos and disorder which prevailed in the Punjab in the year 1907. The *Englishman* of Calcutta pretended to supply the omission on the authority of a Punjab Correspondent, and charged Lajpat Rai with having tampered with the loyalty of the Native Army. But the statement of the *Englishman* was absolutely false and had no foundation in fact.[71] Another journal of London, entitled "The Daily Express", charged Lalaji with having intrigued with the Amir of Kabul for the overthrow of the British Raj in India.[72] This charge was also unfounded.[73] His other traducers, the chief culprit, who practically set the ball in motion, was the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore. Almost everything that appeared to the English Press against Lajpat Rai was based upon the false and mischievous statements circulated by this paper.

The fact was that Lala Lajpat Rai was not responsible for any disturbances which occurred in the Punjab in the year 1907. He condemned the unjust action of the Government in deporting him to Burma. He stated his case with frankness and showed how the discontent in the Punjab was not due to him and any political agitation but was caused by certain unjust legislative measures of the Government.[74] The following causes were responsible for the discontent in the Punjab:

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71. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, October, 1909, Nos. 154-156. (The case against the *Englishman* was filed in the Calcutta High Court on April 24, 1908, and the Lala won the case and was awarded Rs. 15,000 as damages plus casts)

72. Joshi, V.C. (Ed.), *Lajpat Rai—Autobiographical Writings*, p. 131.

73. *Ibid.* (In the libel action against the *Daily Express* in 1909 the verdict was in favour of Lalaji and he was awarded £ 50 as damages).

74. *The Punjabee*, May 11, 1907.

(a) The letters and articles, etc., that appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* sometime in July and August last year under the heading 'Signs of the Times', etc.

(b) The Prosecution of the *Punjabee,* coupled with the refusal of the Government to take similar action against the *Civil and Military Gazette.*

(c) The Colonisation Bill.

(d) The Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill.

(e) The increase of canal rates on the Bari-Doab canal.

(f) The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in Rawalpindi district.

(g) The appalling mortality from plague which had made the people sullen and labour scarce, and raised the wages abnormally.

The Indian employees in higher offices under Government were also dissatisfied with their master. They along with their people said that it made no difference in their lot whether they were governed by a Mister or a Lala or a Moulvi. The recent legislation, however, made them to think differently. They found that the services rendered by them to the Empire in the past had really counted for nothing and could not but suspect that Government was treating them very badly. The political condition of the Punjab thus became worst due to the above causes. Minute by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, clearly stated that the condition of the Punjab had become worst and the leaders were of opinion to drive the English out of the country or at any rate from power, either by force or by passive resistance of the people as a whole.[75] It further said, "The immediate object of all seems to be to make our Government of the country impossible; and probably the idea of the greater number is that we shall then, in order to escape from the impasse, be compelled to give them a larger share of power and of appointment, and to introduce the changes which they desire."[76] Hence this unrest might lead to further and greater

75. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-235.

76. *Ibid.*

disorder if nothing was done to remove the discontent that was at the bottom of it and to soothe the enraged and outraged feeling of the people. Naturally the eyes of the Government fell upon the two persons—Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh—who really were representing a solid bulk of public opinion during that period.

As regards the Lala, he had become an important personality of India. The grave action of the local Government was born out of panic in the ranks of the bureaucracy caused by widespread discontent among the people. The Government wanted to make an impressive show of force and as Mr. Gokhale put it, "they struck at Lalaji simply because he was the most prominent political worker in the Province."[77] Lalaji's high reputation in public life and his popularity appear to have been chiefly responsible for his choice for the Government's attack. He first came to notice at the meeting of the Indian National Congress in 1888 and took an active part in bringing forward the claims of natives to higher appointments in the public service. At a meeting of the Indian Association held at Lahore in June 1893, he delivered a speech on the poverty of the Indian people at the present time as compared with their wealth in the olden days and protested that England was reaping all the benefits from the wealth and produce of the country.[78] In April, 1894, he spoke at the meeting convened to protest against the exclusion of cotton goods from the Tariff Act.[79] In 1897, he compiled and published in Urdu lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Shivaji. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, in forwarding translation of these pamphlets, pointed out that they were written for boys and that the motive was purely political, the object being to propagate sedition. But this remark was not true.

Lalaji was also an active member of the Arya Samaj. He joined the Samaj in December, 1882 and delivered his first lec-

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77. *Gokhale's letter*, dated May 22, 1907, published in the *Tribune* of May 25, 1907.

78. *Home Public Department Proceedings* (Deposit), June, 1905, No. 37.

79. *Ibid.*

ture on Hindi-Urdu controversy at Ambala on May 1883. From this very time he began to work for the Samaj and side by side stimulated the sense of nationalism in the country. He was sent to U.P., by Lala Sain Das, the then President of the Lahore Arya Samaj, for raising fund.[80] Lalaji visited Saharanpur, Meerut, and Farrukhabad and made speeches there. In 1894 he obtained Rs. 1,000 at Quetta, and in the following he collected Rs. 6,000 in aid of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. In 1894 he received Rs. 17,000 in subscription for the same institution and Rs. 6,000 in 1902. At the 26th Anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj held in 1903, Rs. 35,000 were subscribed in cash, and a further sum of Rs. 15,000 was promised as a result of the appeal of Lala Lajpat Rai. He also loved Hinduism and always stood against the conversion of a Hindu into other faith. In 1897 he criticised the Christianity on the ground that it was collecting friendless children deserted by their parents.[81] In June of the same year he addressed a meeting of Indians at Lahore regarding a number of Hindu orphans who were in danger of being taken over by the missionaries at Jabalpur.[82] His famine work is also appreciable.

Lala Lajpat Rai was a nationalist. He went to England with Gokhale to press the claims of the Congress on the liberal Government.[83] On the eve of his departure he delivered a lecture on May 8, 1905, at a meeting convened at the house of Roshan Lal on the political crisis through which India was passing. Similar type of lecture was delivered by him at Boston where he had gone from England.[84] On his return to India he delivered a series of lectures on Swadeshi movement and national education. He also showed actively in opposition to Government in particular on the occasion of recent strike at Sialkot[85]

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-235.

84. *The Tribune*, December 28, 1905.

85. The Sialkot strike was a demonstration against the action of the Municipality in raising the octroi rates on certain articles. It was largely engineered by certain disaffected pleaders and contractors of Sialkot.

and the popular demonstration at Lyallpur against the Colonisation Bill. At Sialkot he delivered a lecture in which he urged the pleaders to stand against the Government. He also delivered a speech at Lyallpur in opposition to the Colonisation Bill which had been recently passed by the Punjab Legislative Council. A few days prior to the Lyallpur meeting, the Rawalpindi disturbances occurred. Ajit Singh had gone to Rawalpindi and addressed an audience there. One of the meetings of Pindi had been presided over by Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhney, and among the signatories to the announcement for the meeting was Lala Amolak Ram. The speakers included Lala Hans Raj, Pandit Janki Nath Kaul and Khazan Singh. Later on Lala Hans Raj, Lala Amolak Ram and Lala Gurdas Ram were arrested and the houses of Pandit Janki Nath and Khazan Singh were searched.[86] Later on these two were also arrested. These arrested persons were very close to Lala Lajpat Rai and, therefore, his sole thought was to do something for his Rawalpindi friends. But in spite of his attempts, the five leaders were not released on bail. Naturally the Pindi proceedings aroused wide indignation; then it was decided to hold a protest meeting at Lahore. But it was forbidden by local Government and Mr. Tomkins, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, warned Lalaji that he would be responsible for any occurrence. In brief the European officers were of opinion that Lala was the source of all mischief and should be dealt with strongly. Lala's rising personality as an Arya Samajist, as an active member of the Congress and as a nationalist leader was pinching in the hearts of the British officials and it was a dagger pointed in the heart of the British Raj. Mr. E. Maclagan, Chief Secretary to Government of the Punjab, wrote to Sir Herbert Home Risley, Secretary to Government of India on May 3, 1907:

> "This man (Lajpat Rai) belongs to a very different class and has promoted the agitation in a very different manner.... He is revolutionary, a political enthusiast, probably honest, who has been carried away to his theories into the most intense hatred of the British Gov-

86. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, October, 1909, Nos. 145-156.

> ernment.... Although, however, his public utterances and his public appearances have been comparatively few, he is everywhere recognised as being the moving spirit of the whole agitation. Almost every official and almost native gentleman...has mentioned Lajpat Rai as its organiser-in-chief."[87]

And Lalaji was deported.

Swami Shraddhananda, who was a 'problem' for the British Government, was a great social reformer and nationalist. Lala Lajpat Rai represented the College party or Flesh-eater section of the Arya Samaj and Swami Shraddhananda the Mahatma or vegetarian section of the Samaj. The Swami was deeply influenced by the teachings of Dayananda and till his death he followed his principles. When he joined the Arya Samaj in his youth, everyone welcomed him. One of the elders remarked at that time that "this young man will infuse a new spirit into the Arya Samaj."[88] These words were fulfilled by Swami Shraddhananda in due course of time.

Munshi Ram, later on known as Swami Shraddhananda, saw the progress of India in social reform and he carried forward the ideals of the Samaj in both social and political fields. He was very kind to women and wanted their progress and emancipation. He stood against purdah system and appealed that women should not be kept in purdah. He, therefore, asked his

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87. *Ibid.*

Morley had initially approved the action of the Government of India in deporting Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh but immediately after their deportation, Morley found that there was no tangible evidence against Lajpat Rai which would justify the action. Morley persistently demanded the release of the two deportees in his private correspondence with the Governor-General and finally Minto too changed his earlier opinion and was convinced of the injustice done to Lajpat Rai. In his communication of 5 November, Minto wrote to Morley: 'Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly a man of high character and very much respected by his fellow countrymen, and if when I was asked to arrest him, I had known what I do now, I should have required much more evidence before agreeing. Ajit Singh is of much lower standing in every way and I shall regret associating them in their release."

88. Quoted in Sharma, Diwanchand, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

wife to discard it.[89] He also believed in educating girls and sent his eldest daughter to a local girls' school (Jullundur) which was run by a Christian Mission. He also founded a girls' school with the help of Lala Dev Raj which came to be known as the Kanya Mahavidyalaya. He started a newspaper entitled '*Sad Dharm Pracharak*' and began to spread the educational and social ideas of the Samaj.[90] This paper rendered a great service to the cause of the Samaj.

There were some factors which shaped the mind of Swami Shraddhananda and inspired him to start a movement not only for educational progress but also for religious and social advancement. Mention, first of all, may be made of his early education which he received at Benaras. He studied there Vedic culture and Sanskrit. But at the same time he did not neglect English. He considered English as a vehicle to reach the hearts of the educated people of India, particularly of South India. Besides, the life of the Founder of Arya Samaj influenced him greatly. He practised as a lawyer from 1885 to 1902. But as soon as he came in contact with Dayananda Saraswati, he knew the importance of social reform and India's Vedas. He decided to start a crusade against all bad practices prevailing in the Indian society at that time and revived the ancient Vedic culture of India. He, therefore, gave up his occupation and joined the Arya Samaj. This was an important moment in which he joined the Samaj. It was the Arya Samaj which taught him to sacrifice his life for the sake of religion and Swaraj. It was the Samaj which taught him to be proud of Aryan greatness. In brief he learnt all his lessons in public life from and in the Arya Samaj. After attempting to bring progress in education, he now tried to revive the ancient Aryan culture.

Swami Shraddhananda was a great lover of the ancient Aryan culture and wanted to revive it. The best way to do so, he thought, was to found a Gurukul. It was to be a kind of college where boys were to be taught from the age of six to twenty-five. This was the ancient Aryan ideal of education. It

89. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

was a new idea. Though there were many obstacles in the way of its establishment, yet his energy and determination overcame all obstacles. He collected a huge sum of money and established the Gurukul at Kangri near Hardwar in 1902. This Gurukul was established purely on Indian lines. Hindi became the medium of instruction and the students, living the life of Brahmacharya, began to learn the ancient culture. This was a self-controlled institution. He was the Governor of the institution till 1921.

As a great social worker, he helped the distressed of Garhwal district during the time of famine in the year 1918.[91] He distributed grains there. Besides this, he brought non-Hindus into the fold of Hinduism and established All India Shuddhi Sabha.[92] He was also an active promoter of the Sangathan movement in India. In Rajputana he converted several non-Hindus to Hinduism. He loved untouchables and was the most uncompromising champion of the untouchables.[93] He organised Dalit Uddhar Sabha at Delhi and tried to raise the status of the depressed classes. He was also the supporter of the Hindu-Muslim unity and he tried to do it with the help of the Indian National Congress.[94]

Like Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Shraddhananda was a militant monk. He was a man of action and, therefore, rather intolerant of the politician's methods of endless discussion and glorious inaction. He was aggressive in the sense that he did not shirk fight.[95] He would not care for criticism or ridicule. His earlier title—Mahatma Munshi Ram—embodied ridicule more than anything else, because he stood for the original Vedic culture and founded a Gurukul without State recognition. He was damned as a visionary, and, therefore, dubbed a Mahatma.

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91. *File No. 10/95/1927,* NAI.

92. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Part-B, December, 1907, Nos. 2-9.

93. Shraddhananda, Swami, *Inside Congress,* p. 9.

94. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Part-B, May, 1919, Nos. 268-273, NAI.

95. Shraddhananda Swami, *op. cit.,* p. 9.

He was essentially a seer because he was ahead of himself and made contribution to the shaping of the future.

The Swami was the lover of Hindi, yet he accepted English as the medium of expressing his thoughts. There was a national cause behind it. He conducted an English weekly called 'The Liberator'. As has been said, he was an uncompromising enemy of untouchability, and the problem of untouchability was acutest in the Madras Presidency; he wanted to reach the hearts of the people of that province through the *Liberator*. He himself says, "In my wanderings through the Madras Presidency....I found that if I wanted to reach the heart and intellect of the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Malayalese and the Canarese, I must utilise the English language as a vehicle of my thought and ideas."[96] Through the paper he published a series of articles on the Indian National Congress and took an active part in the national movement of the country.[97]

The Swami was impatient to secure Swaraj. According to him it was the love of ancient education and love of untouchables which would bring Swaraj to India.[98] But he also believed in practical fight for obtaining Swaraj. This was why he took a keen part in national movement and fought against Rowlatt Act, Hindu-Muslim disunity, etc., which will be discussed in the Chapter VII in this work. He even sacrificed his life in the battle of Swaraj and in the words of Mr. C.F. Andrews, 'proved himself a hero of the Aryavarta.'

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96. *The Liberator*, April 1, 1926.

97. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, May, 1919, Nos. 268-273.

His activities as a Satyagrahi within the Congress will be discussed in the proper place.

98. *Young India*, June 6, 1927.

The Attitude of the British Towards the Arya Samaj

No organisation has been so much misrepresented and misunderstood as the Arya Samaj of India. It was in 1907 that the Arya Samaj first heard its criticism and condemnation. The Conservative Imperialists, Christian Missionaries and rigid Mohammedans attacked it.[1] The Christians and Muslims played a great role in condemning the Samaj and in proving it as anti-British. The Samaj first evoked, in the words of Soma Deva, the editor of the *Prakash*, opposition from the Hindus themselves who were hostile to its radical teachings.[2] But in the meantime when Christians and Mohammedans discovered that the Samaj aimed also at putting down the evils bred by non-Hindu religions, and that it would not hesitate to absorb even them, they began to oppose it and to misrepresent before the Government. Mohammedans felt still more exasperated at the conduct of the Arya Samaj in purifying Hindu converts to Islam by admitting them back into the Arya fold. They left no stone unturned to oppose it by every means at their command.[3] The Arya Samaj also experienced the strongest opposition from the Christians. Before its birth, Christianity had been claiming very large number of Hindu converts, but after the birth of the Samaj, very few Hindus could be persuaded to embrace the faith of

1. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 2.
2. *The Prakash*, November 24, 1908.
3. *Ibid.*

the Christ, while even those who accepted him as their Saviour were reclaimed by the Samaj. Finding, however, that they could not injure it by their speeches or writings, Christians began to poison the minds of the authorities against it and in this effort they achieved a large measure of success owing to their being in close touch with the rulers.[4]

Now the British rulers of India were never free from suspicion about the Arya Samaj. They considered the Founder of the Samaj as a 'militant nationalist' and the Samaj as a 'militant sect'. They began to dislike the independent attitude of the Samaj and tried to crush its propaganda which taught self-confidence, self-help and self-reliance to Indians. Again the Samaj achieved such progress in India and particularly in the Punjab, that Government could no longer remain indifferent to its great power. Being convinced that it exercised sway over all the educated Hindus in India and particularly in the Punjab, and that it was the most influential society in the country, the English rulers decided to crush the Samaj. They had come to believe that its progress was likely to weaken or to put an end to their power. The Government, therefore, threw various obstacles in the way of the progress of the Arya Samaj and kept a strict eye on its doings. The national side of its social reform was also responsible for making it a suspicious body. The Arya religion taught that the Vedas contained germs of all sciences and could be firm bed-rock of Indian nationalism. The Arya religion tried to unite Indians and remove the caste-system from the Indian soil. The Samaj took Indians back to the ages of Ram, Krishna and Arjuna who were the national heroes. The Vedas taught the Indians all about the ideals of individual and social conduct, of social governance and political philosophy. It brought a new outlook in society by improving a new type of education, by raising the status of women and the down-trodden people and proved itself as the greatest helper of the people in times of calamity and distress. Its propaganda of Swadeshi and Boycott aroused the spirit of patriotism among the people. All these improvements were really forbidding the growth and development of the British rule in India. But the Samaj did

4. *Ibid.*

not speak anything against the British rulers and did not favour or disfavour constitutional agitation in the country which was being carried on by the Indian political leaders. It only desired peaceful revolution and progress in the social and religious fields and wished to improve the character of the people of India.

And still the Samaj was suspected and considered as a political body. Even its social works were looked upon with suspicion. The rulers considered the Arya Samajists as dangerous rebels and not as social and religious reformers.[5] Wherever there was a meeting of the Samaj it was singled out by its enemies or Government officials as a hot-bed of sedition, either through false reports or foul conspiracy, thinking that Lajpat Rai's deportation was a sufficient proof on their false allegations and foul forgery. Thus the national side, whether it was social or religious, of the activities of the Samaj aroused the antagonism of the Government. The rulers could not look with favour on an indigenous movement which, to their way of thinking, could succeed in big projects without enlisting outside help and guidance, and thereby establish a species of Government, within the Government. "The progress it made," says Lala Lajpat Rai, "the impressive hold which it acquired on the minds of the people, the popularity which it won in spite of its heterodoxy and its iconoclasm among the Hindus, the influence which it possessed, the immense 'go' which characterised it in all its doings, the national spirit which it aroused and developed among the Hindus, the ready self-sacrifice of its members, the independence of their tone and the rapidity with which the movement was diffused throughout India, and last but not least, the spirit of criticism which it generated gained for it the suspicion of the ruling bureaucracy."[6]

The following grounds invented by the Criminal Intelligence Department under the guidance of Mr. C.J. Stevenson Moore. the Director of the Intelligence Department, were taken by the

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5. *The Arya Messenger,* October 15, 1907.

Also *Selections from the Native Newspaper,* Punjab, Vol. I, (January-December), 1907, pp. 482-483.

6. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj,* p. 160.

Government to prove the political character of the Arya Samaj:

(1) "In the Rawalpindi riots in the year 1907, the ring-leaders were Aryas." Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, who was invited to examine the Punjab unrest and the part played by the Arya Samajists in it, informed after investigation that the Arya Samaj was a centre of seditious talk. Though Lala Hans Raj assured him that the Arya Samaj, as a body, had nothing to do with the late disturbances, that the Samaj was an organisation which had for its sole object the religious and educational advancement of its members, yet Mr. Ibbetson did not give ear to his talks and on the basis of the information received by the Deputy Commissioner of the Province, he informed the Government that the Samaj was a centre of seditious talk and the students of the D.A.V. College took part in the riots.[7]

(2) Dayananda was intent upon the "regeneration of Aryavarta" and the words "patriotism" and "nationality" were constantly on his lips. Once he had said to an English Clergyman: "I cannot but perceive that like the old Aryas, the days of your fall also are coming." Thus his views were of political nature.[8]

(3) In 1879, the Lahore Arya Samaj discussed religious and social questions and pointed out the "urgent necessity for general and technical education", and above all the national union and self-help. Three years later in 1882, the programme included a lecture by the then Secretary of the Lahore Arya Samaj on '*Nationality*' and again in 1899 the chief Speaker at the meeting of the Flesh-eacting Section insisted upon "the liberal and national character" of the Arya Samaj religion.[9]

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7. *Home Political (Confidential) Department Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4.

(This statement is not true. Among the ring-leaders, were Mr. Rai and Ajit Singh. The latter was never an Arya Samajist. Regarding the students, who took part in the disturbances, the D.A.V. College was closed).

—Nevinson, Henry W.. *op. cit.*, p. 304.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.* (Also the *Arya Patrika*, April 20, 1894).

(4) Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick informed the D.C.I. that the Flesh-eating Section had been more closely identified with political work than the Vegetarian.[10]

(5) In 1897, Sir Macworth Young, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in a letter to Lord Elgin, regarding the growth of discontent in the province, remarked: "...there are other agencies at work besides the Press which may tend to a combination against Government. The various associations from the Congress downwards which have for their ostensible object the promulgation of political and religious creeds are, in not a few cases, dominated by persons hostile to the British Government, and the programme of these societies in the Punjab is the Arya Samaj....The Samaj has undoubtedly been responsible to a large extent for the embitterment of feeling between Hindus and Mohammedans which has sprung up of late years, and though there are many servants of Government in its ranks, its general tendency is disloyal."[11]

(6) It was about the year 1890 that open disloyalty began to characterise the public speeches of leading Aryas and in that year Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta and Munshi Ram, who preached at Gurjat, Sialkot and Gurjanwala with the object of collecting money for a Gurukul, spoke strongly against Government and said that sepoys were foolish enough to enlist on Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 a month to be killed; but after being taught in the Gurukul they would know better. Similar language was used by Munshi Ram in 1903 at lectures delivered at Jhang in the same connection.[12]

(7) In May 1906, Lajpat Rai delivered a lecture before going to England to represent the Punjab in the National Congress deputation and this lecture was the most objectionable. He openly criticised the British Government and said that Government was doing nothing to prevent diseases, pestilence and famine. He criticised the educational policy as well as the administrative policy of the Government.[13] His lec-

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10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *The Punjabee,* May 15, 1905.

Also *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-235, NAI.

> tures delivered in Boston were also objectionable, in which he again blamed Government for the occurrences of famine and diseases in India and vehemently said that the fiscal policy of the Government was ruining the Indian manufactures.[14] Even after his return from Mandalay, his ideals and hopes were the same. He delivered a lecture on December 1, 1907 at Lahore in which he said that although he had worked for the Samaj for 25 years, and should always help it and serve it, he had no intention to have any share in the management. Though he could not leave the Church in which he believed and to which he owed so much, yet if there were any leaders of it who told him that it had suffered through his political views he was ready to leave connection at once. His hopes and ideals were the same as they were six months before, but he wished to tell them that the Arya Samaj as it was had sufficient work to do and it might not succeed if it wanted to go beyond its present limitations.[15] This may be fairly interpreted, as the C.I.D.'s agent interprets, as the warning to the leaders of the Samaj that such as they should engage in religious, social and educational work, and not involve the Society in politics and in this light, the C.I.D. agent believes, it amounts to an admission that the leaders had been taking too prominent a part in agitation.[16]

Besides these grounds, the C.I.D.'s agents informed the Government about the meetings convened and attended by the individual Arya Samajists. Before the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, in the opinion of the agents, these were the seditious meetings in which the individual prominent members of the Samaj delivered lectures against the British Government. The Arya Samaj had employed certain paid preachers to deliver lectures against the Government.

At the third annual meeting of the Arya Samaj at Lyallpur held in April, 1908 lectures were delivered condemning the use

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14. *The Tribune*, October 28, 1905.

15. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, (D.C.I. Report), Part-B, January, 1908, Nos. 19-26.

16. *Home Political Confidential Department Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4.

of foreign sugar and advising the Hindus and Muslims to combine against their natural enemy.[17] At a private meeting of the leaders of the Lahore Arya Samaj at the house of Bhagat Ishar Das on June 10, 1906, it was said that Government was trying to separate the Sikhs from the Hindus and it was resolved to send Sikh preachers to large Sikh Centres, such as Amritsar, in order to explain to the Sikhs the policy of Government and the advantages of union with the Hindus.[18] On December 9, 1906, Ram Chand made a speech at Hoshiarpur in which he lamented the fact that Hindus, the hereditary rulers of Hindustan, now held no position of any real authority.[19] On March 25, 1907 Mahasha Ram Chand said that Hindus and Muslims should unite in order that the present ruling power might be persuaded to keep clear of the tyranny to which their brethren were being subjected.[20] On April 26, Hukum Singh and Bodh Raj of Sangohi in Jhelum city delivered lectures and asserted that the present Government was tyrannical, and they endeavoured to form a party for the purpose of joining in the general agitation that was being carried on in other districts.[21] At the annual meeting of the Gujrat Arya Samaj held from 26th to 28th April, 1907, the speakers advised the Hindus and Mohammedans to unite as they said in that case everything could be achieved.[22] On May 3, 1907, a meeting was held in Gurdaspur under the presidentship of Gurdit Singh, B.A. It was resolved to start a branch of the *Anjuman-i-Mohibban-i-Watan* (Society of Patriots) in Gurdaspur town. Then Ajit Singh of the Punjab delivered a lecture in which he criticised the educational policy of the Government.[23] On May 5, in a meeting held at Dasuya in Hoshiarpur district the Arya Samajists delivered lectures on patriotism.[24]

Besides these, a series of articles on 'Indian unrest' contribut-

17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*

ed by Sir Valentine Chirol aroused the antagonism of the British ruler. Mr. Chirol, the special correspondent of the London *Times,* visited India in 1907-10, whose articles, now in a book form entitled *'Indian Unrest'*, were widely read by the British authorities. In all these articles, he tried to discredit the Arya Samaj as a political and anti-British movement. Mr. Chirol was disposed to think that the Hindus were more dangerous and the forms of unrest were practically confined to them. He, therefore, held that it would be more accurate to call it (Indian unrest) "Hindu unrest" and that its mainspring was a deep rooted antagonism to all the principles upon which Western Society, especially in a democratic country like England, had been built up.[25] He held that in the Rawalpindi riots in 1907 the ringleaders were Aryas and in the violent propaganda which for about two years preceded the actual outbreak of violence nonfigured were more prominently than Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh; that Bhai Parmananda was found in possession of various formulas for the manufacture of bombs and letters written by Lajpat Rai to him while he (Parmananda) was in England ih 1905.[26] All these factors led the British Government to form an idea that the Arya Samaj was disloyal to Government and was engaged in conspiracy and political activities to overthrow the British rule. We should not be misled into thinking that the facts given by the agents and Mr. Chirol were based on reality and were quite tri

In order to defend the Arya Samaj from the charge of disloyalty Munshi Ram addressed a lecture on the *Arya Samaj and the Politics* on the occasion of the 31st Annivesary of the Lahore Arya Samaj. In his lecture he clearly remarked that the Arya Samaj always worked in day light and there was no inner circle in it and that it had absolutely no secret to keep. He further stated that the Hindus, Parsis, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians had joined their political agitation yet they were not blamed by the Government. He also defended Lala Lajpat Rai and said that Lajpat Rai himself had challenged the autho-

25 Rai, Lala Lajpat. *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 161.

26. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), Part-B, January, 1910, Nos. 25-26, NAI.

rities from the Secretary of State onwards to prove any offence against him, but none of the latter had taken up the gauntlet.[27] Again in the defence of the individual Samajic preacher and leader, Munshi Ram issued a pamphlet in 1909 and in its introduction he drew the attention of the British rulers towards the Indian agitation prior to 1907. He said that prior to 1907 a "clamorous Nationalism" arose in India. The stumping ignorant orators of those days, who melted away like mist after the deportation of Ajit Singh, did not feel any geninue sympathy for the teeming millions of India. Vanity and ambition alone had made them take up the cry of 'absolute Swaraj' and when the satisfaction of vanity and ambition became doubtful, the hard stern repression stared them in the face they changed front at once and turned into cringing lying detectives. These men had to find a scapegoat and they attacked the Aryas. All the pent up cowardly passions of Hindu, Mohammendan, Tat-khalsa and even of Christian bigotry were let loose to revenge the supposed injuries which these sects were considered to have received at the hands of the Arya Samaj.[28]

As regards the views of Mr. Chirol on the Arya Samaj, they are also not based on reality. The so-called Arya "ringleaders" in the Rawalpindi riots were all acquitted by a European Judge, who presided over their trial and who found that the evidence submmitted by the prosecution against them was false and fabricated. This judgment was never contested by the Government and these facts ought to have been known to Mr. Chirol when he wrote his articles.[29] As far as Lajpat was concerned, he was never put on trial and reasons for his deportation were not revealed in spite of his repeated demands and none could prove any offence on his part. As regards Bhai Parmananda's case, he denied always that he was ever in possession of any formulas for

27. *The Prakash*, December 2, 1908.

28. *Home Political Confidential Department Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4.

29. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, January, 1915, No. 8 (Note on the proposed deportation under Regulation-III of 1918 of Bhai Parmanand and others).

the manufacture of bombs, though his denial was never accepted by the court.[30]

But the British Government were not prepared to change their attitude about the Arya Samaj. They had seen the germs of nationalism in the principles of the Samaj which were to undermine the very foundation of their administration in India. They started deportations, prosecutions and dismissals of the Arya Samajic leaders, ordinary workers and books. The Home Political Proceeding Records are full of such accounts of deportations and prosecutions. Here we shall describe a few, the most important ones.

In the year 1889 six Arya students were expelled from Lahore Central Training College by the order of Sir James Lyall. It was alleged that they had issued an obscene pamphlet. The *Arya Patrika* condemned this action of the Government and requested His Honour to reconsider his orders.[31]

In the same year, three Arya students were expelled from the same college, because they had compiled a pamphlet with a view to showing the superiority of Swami Dayananda's Commentary on the Yajur Veda over the one written by Mahi Krit. The orthodox Hindus raised an outcry and submitted memorials to the Punjab Government to suppress the pamphlet on the ground that it was obscene. The Government did the same considering it 'obscene', and gave the students an extra punishment by expelling them.[32]

The editors of the *'Vedic and Jai Patri'* and the *'Arya Patrika'* were arrested in July 1890 as they had published a report against Shiva Narain Agni Hotri.[33]

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30. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, January, 1910, Nos. 25-26.

31. *The Arya Patrika*, December 20, 1889.

Also Report on the Native Newspaper, Punjab, 1890 (January-December), p. 2.

32. *The Bharat Sudhar*, December 28, 1889.

33. *The Dharm Jiwan*, July 6, 1890.

Also Report on the Native Newspapers, Punjab, 1890, (January-December), p. 256.

There was a Clerk named Gulab Chand in the 35th Sikh Regiment. He was an energetic worker and his superiors were pleased with him. The Commandant of the regiment used to hold discussion with him about the Arya Samaj and was in the habit of saying that although Gulab Chand performed his official duties satisfactorily he behaved like a fearless man during discussions. The man was transferred to another regiment on promotion and some time later applied for leave. The application being rejected, he went to show rules (to the Commanding Officer), but was sent to the lock-up for three days on the charge of impertinence. On his release, he was asked whether he was an Arya Samajist. On his replying in the affirmative, he was told to present himself the next morning when he was informed that he had been dismissed. He was taken aback and wished to know his fault, when he was informed that he had been dismissed under orders (from above). As, however, the officer concerned was a kind-hearted man and did not wish to injure Gulab Chand, he gave the latter the following discharge certificate: "Gulab Chand is an industrious man. He was sent to lock-up for only three days. He is an Arya Samajist."[34] Three Zaildars of Panipat showed their 'Diaries' to Munshi Ram which contained the following remarks: "Very good Zaildar. He should be watched being an Arya Samajist". This remark was written in each of their diaries. Every officer on tour said (to each of the Zaildars), "O, you are an Arya!"[35]

The Deputy Commissioner of Karnal once went to Panipat. He knew that there was an Arya Samaj in the place and said to some persons, "Well, I have heard that there were also (some) rascally (badmash) Aryas here. If you wish yourself well, turn them out of the town. Government will think well of you." There were two Arya Samajists even among those to whom the 'Sahib' addressed the above words and they playfully enquired from him, "How should we turn the Aryas out? We can do so only if you back us up." The 'Sahib' replied, "Well, I cannot give orders (to that effect). You turn them out (and) if a case crops up I will not go against you."[36]

34. *The Prakash*, December 2, 1908.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*

There was a *Jat Sabha* in the United Provinces most of the members of which were the Aryas and used to wear sacred thread. The Sabha received a complaint from the members of a certain regiment that they had been asked to discard the sacred thread on pain of dismissal. 'A Jat wearing a sacred thread is a rebel and a Rahtiya embracing Aryaism can serve in the army only if he keeps long hair.' The Secretary of the Sabha submitted a memorial to the Commanding Officer in which he used the following words: "Sacred threads were removed in the time of Aurangzeb. Our men are being stripped of their threads now. Is the present British rule or Aurangzeb's? You should listen to our complaint. Please do not interfere with the religion of our men."[37]

Lala Lajpat Rai was deported. Bhai Parmananda, Hans Raj and others were arrested.[38]

A young Lieutenant in a certain regiment started a controversy with a Jamadar and was worsted. To satisfy his pique, he reported his conduct to the Officer Commanding: "The dignity of the stripling had been insulted and the prestige of the Government was in danger" because he was defeated in the argument. The Colonel, who was as great a wisecracker as his doughty Lieutenant, summoned the Jamadar to his presence and said to him, "Well badmash Arya Samajists! Why did you speak rudely to the Sahib?" "I am a Musalman, Sir," replied the Jamadar. "Well, then, you are a Musalman Arya Samajist!"[39]

Lakshman Rao Sharma, the Head Accountant in the office of the Inspector-General of Police at Lahore, was dismissed simply for refusing to withdraw from the Arya Samaj of Indore of which he was President. and to refrain from taking part in the Arya Samaj anniversary held there in June, 1904.[40]

There was a school master at Sharakpur in Lahore district.

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37. *Ibid.*

38. *Home Political (Confidential) Department Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

Perhaps he was Municipal Commissioner also and was loved by both Hindus and Muslims. After the deportation of Lajpat Rai, a non-Arya officer enquired from the Mohammedans whether they had any cause of complaint in connection with the anniversary celebrations of the Arya Samaj which were held before the said deportation. They replied that injury had been caused to their religious feelings and the result was that the school master was dismissed. No one told him for what fault he had been so treated.[41]

After the deportation of Lajpat Rai, Secretaries of three or four Samajas went to Munshi Ram at Gurukul and told him that they were being harassed by the police to give them lists of the members as if they were Criminal tribe. The Secretary of the Jullundur Arya Samaj was asked to furnish a list of the members. Three of them were Government servants and when they came to know of this, they went to the Secretary to tender their resignations and to ask him to delay the submission of the list till next day.[42]

The removal by the Jodhpur Police of the name-board on the Arya Samaj premises on the route of the Viceroy's procession through the town in November, 1908, was also a case of religious persecution.[43]

The case, however, to which most attention was directed, was that of Daulat Ram, against whom proceedings were taken under Section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, at Jhansi in September 1908. The following extract from the Magistrate's order explains the circumstances:

> "It is proved that Daulat Ram, although not the member of the Jhansi Arya Samaj, addressed an unusually large meeting held by that body on August 16, 1908. The meeting was attended by a large number of sepoys belonging to a native regiment. Daulat Ram read out to them the first portion of a chapter of the Satyartha Prakash which contains a passage ('what a pity that the descendants of

41. *The Prakash*, December 2, 1908.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Home Political (Confidential) Department Proceedings*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4.

> these Aryas are being crushed under the heel of the foreigners) highly objectionable if used as a part of an address given to native troops in the service of His Majesty the King Emperor. Equally objectionable are the remarks which he is said to have made in connection with the religion of the Hindus."

As to his sources of livelihood, Daulat Ram taught a few children in the Bazar but charged no fees. He said, however, that certain persons assisted him with subscriptions, but that he induced a number of people to keep earthen vessels for him and to drop into them small quantities of country flour every day, which he checked on Sundays. The Magistrate's conclusion was:

> "I do not think that it can reasonably be supposed that Daulat Ram came to Jhansi to open a school with the serious intention of making a livelihood out of charity bestowed on him in the capacity of a teacher of the young. It is proved on two occasions he acted in a very suspicious manner towards native troops during his brief stay at Jhansi and even if it he held that the doles of flour constitute a visible means of subsistence I find that Daulat Ram cannot give a satisfactory account of himself or of his reason for coming to Jhansi and his conduct there."[44]

Sepoys were ordered not to subscribe to the *"Arya Mitra"* and *"Sat Dharma Pracharak"* which were the Arya Samajic papers. This order was given particularly to a Naik at Allahabad saying that "he should leave either the service or the Samaj."[45]

The English had turned against the Gurukul at Kangri and the D.A.V. College of Lahore. Agents were deputed to keep their eyes on these institutions and to inform the Government

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44. *Ibid.*

(Reading of the Satyartha Prakash and conduct of Daulat Ram cannot be considered seditious, otherwise the accused would certainly have ben dealt with under Section 108, C.P.C., which applies to persons disseminating seditious matters and not under Section 109 C.P.C., which applies to vagrants and suspected persons. There were, no doubt, two sides to the case as it was instituted because Daulat Ram was suspected of tampering with the loyalty of the sepoys, whereas security was demanded on the other ground probably because the latter case was more easy to prove.

45. *The Prakash*, December 2, 1908.

about their activities. Lord Meston paid three visits to the Gurukul and inspected the institution. Lord Hardinge gave three interviews to Mahatma Munshi Ram in order to discuss the Gurukul system of education. Lord Chelmsford had visited the institution at the end of October, 1916.[46]

Mention may be made of the two books, *'The Satyartha Prakash'* of Dayananda Saraswati and *'The Arya Samaj and its Detractors: A Vindication'* of Munshi Ram and Ram Deva. Orders were issued by the Government that these books should not be read by the people, specially by army men because they, in the opinion of the Government, spread sedition. Taking many passages from these books the enemies of the Arya Samaj tried to prove that the Samaj was a political body. Chapter VI of the Satyartha Prakash was considered to be very objectionable which merely dealt with Raj Dharma or the Science of Government. Munshi Ram said that there was nothing objectionable in this Chapter, that it dealt with the ruling principles of the world in theory, that it dealt with the duties of the kings with regard to internal administration. Chapter VIII was also brought forward by the enemies regarding which Munshi Ram said that this one dealt with the origin of the Aryas and their former greatness. It was, therefore, also not objectionable.[47]

Similarly the next book, entitled 'The Arya Samaj and its Detractors: A Vindication,' was considered to be against the British rule. The book was in circulation from the bottom to top and in the last Mr. J.W. Hose, Chief Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, informed the Central Government:

> "To proscribe this book or require its printer to deposit a security would afford it an excellent advertisement and might easily give it that importance in the eyes of a certain section of the public which it has hitherto failed to attain. Should it attract more attention in the future or become the focus of an agitation circumstances might arise to render action advisable. At present, however, the

46. *Ibid.*

Also *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), April, 1916, No. 19, NAI.

47. *Ibid.*, Part-A, April, 1912, No. 4, NAI.

Lieutenant-Governor does not consider that it is either necessary or politic to take legal proceedings against the printer of the book, or to declare it forfeit to His Majesty."[48]

The attitude of the Government towards the Patiala State and the 10th Jat Regiment was also hostile. The Arya Samaj at Patiala was the most powerful and popular religious organisation in the State. Some prominent State Officials were active members and other sympathised with its propaganda.[49] The influence of the Samaj naturally tended to the promotion of efficiency and purity of administration. Mr. Warburton, the District Magistrate of the State, disturbed the Patiala Arya Samaj. He was to retire and wanted the extension of his service for a few years. Hence, he wanted to please the Government by crushing the Samajists in the State and to get extension. And at once a confidential report was submitted by him that "seditious talk was going all over the State; the Samaj was the den of the conspiracy" and "if prompt measures were not taken, the consequences would be horrible."[50] Permission was taken and the old District Magistrate with the help of other officials, arrested about 84 persons. When the case came before court for judgment, the majority of the accused were charged with being members of the Samaj and the rest with being sympathisers thereof. It was alleged that the meetings of the Samaj were used for the discussions of seditious subjects and the spreading of sedition. It was further alleged that the accused, with others, had conspired to deprive the King Emperor of the sovereignty of British India. But as soon as it was found that there was practically no evidence in support of the serious charges brought forward that even Sir Louis Dane, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, one of the greatest enemies of the Arya Samaj, had given a sort of certificate to the Samaj exonerating the latter as a body from any charge of sedition—His Highness became anxious to stop the proceedings.[51] Several of the defendants belonged too British

48. *Ibid.*, Part-B. July, 1911, Nos. 55-58, NAI.

49. Ram, Munshi, and Deva, Ram, *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors: A Vindication*, pp. 38-39.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, pp. 165-66.

territory, and most of the others were allowed to re-enter the State.

The cry of sedition against the Arya Samaj was raised again and some sepoys belonging to the 10th Jats Regiment were punished and its Officer-in-Charge, Colonel Pressey, was removed from his high office as a disciplinary measure because "he had faith in the innocence of the Arya Samaj movement and acted up to that faith."[52]

It was admitted that the Arya Samaj had made attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the troops and spread seditious books and pamphlets among the soldiers, particularly in 10th Jat Regiment.[53]

From the very beginning of its origin, the soldiers of the 10th Jat Regiment were interested in the activities of the Arya Samaj: During the year 1898, the Regiment was stationed at Benaras under the command of Colonel Hingston and in this year an Arya Samaj "Sabha" was started in it, which a number of men attended, besides many real Arya Samajists from Benaras city. The movement was entirely religious.[54] When the Regiment was stationed at Silchar in 1899, the Commander-in-Chief got several anonymous letters in Hindi—all headed by the word "Om", the special sign of the Arya Samaj. In 1904 when the Regiment was stationed at Cownpur, the men again began to attend an Arya Samaj Meeting House near the city. This practice was stopped and a prohibitory notice was issued that books abusing other religions would not be allowed in the lines. In September, 1905, sepoy Surjan, who was punished just after, attended Swadeshi meeting. In 1906 it was known to the Regimental authorities that meetings of men of the 10th Jats and 10th Hodson's Horse were held in the infantry lines, and books abusing other castes were read and newspapers of a political charac-

52. *Arya Patrika,* July 1, 1911.

53. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), March, 1910, Nos. 157-162.

54. *Ibid., Confidential,* Part-B, August, 1910, Nos. 122. (Report of Lt.-Colonel Pressey on the 10th Jat Regiment).

ter were taken in, such as the *Kesari, Jat Samachar* and *Jat Hitkari.*[55]

In 1907, Liutenant-Colonel Pressey was brought from the 4th Rajput Regiment to command the 10th Jats and was warned by the Adjutant General in India that he was to keep him informed of anything occurring in connection with the seditious and Swadeshi movement in the Regiment.[56] In June, 1907, Mr. Pressey was informed by the Adjutant General that 10th Jats were reported by the Criminal Intelligence Department to be keen supporters of the Arya Samaj and permitted with the worst forms of its teaching. He was asked to submit a comprehensive report on this point. Then Pressey talked with other Native Officers, Subedar Major and Havildar, and got that there was no marked religious feeling at all in the Regiment. The only information which they were able to give him was that about two years previously Colonel Hunter, the Commandant whom Lieutenant-Colonel Pressey succeeded, had turned four men out of the Regiment and burnt their books, as it was reported to him that they were Arya Samajists and would not eat meat. In conclusion, he informed the Adjutant General in India that "in his opinion the statement was based on conjecture rather than on fact."[57] Yet Mr. Pressey showed his loyalty to his Government and took the following measures against seditious influences at Cownpur: (1) the city was put out of bounds, (2) men were not allowed to go there without a pass and then only under a non-commissioned officer, (3) Native officers were cautioned against allowing strangers into the lines talking seditions, etc., and (4) the dak was brought to the Commandant's house only. He attended in January, 1908, Lajpat Rai's speech at Cownpur and punished a non-commissioned incharge whose party's men were seen hearing lecture in the meeting. In 1908, Regiment was moved to Alipur where Mr. Pressey was engaged in revenue and other works. And then he proceeded on 8 months' leave in March, 1908, handing

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55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.* (Report of the Adjutant General in India on Lieutenant-Colonel Pressey).

57. *Ibid.* (Report of Lt.-Col. Pressey on the 10th Jats).

over the command of the Regiment to Major Wright, the Second-in-command.

Very shortly afterwards Major Wright noticed that a meeting was being held daily outside the Native officers' quarters of E. Company which was under the charge of Subedar Hari Ram, Naik Jot Ram and sepoy Jog Ram. Major Wright strongly suspected Subedar Hari Ram of having visited Bipin Chandra Pal, a noted "Seditionist". Later on Jot Ram and Jog Ram were punished. The Major also faced some troubles from men of the Regiment wearing the "Janeu", the sacred thread.

When Mr. Pressey returned back and joined his duty, he was again asked to report to the Government regarding the activities of the Regiment. In his absence some incidents had occurred at Midnapur where the Regiment had gone under training such as men of the 10th Jat Regiment had been entertained by the Extremists; that they had visited the house of Khudi Ram Bose, the murderer of Miss and Mrs. Kennedy. He prepared a report getting information from the Collector and Superintendent of Police, Deputy Commissioner and Police of the recruiting areas, British Officer, Native Officers and selected persons of the district in which the Regiment was stationed. The theme of the report was that "no sedition was being preached". In the conclusion he sincerely expressed his personal opinion in the following words:

> "Personally I can find no sedition in the Satyartha Prakash, and do not give any weight to the statement 'a large number of sepoys of the Regiment are Arya Samajists'. Men unless prevented will go to meetings for the sake of Tamasha, and I dare say would applaud if others did. I do not think that a man is any more entitled to be called an Arya Samajist because he has attended a meeting, and likes listening to the teachings of Dayananda Saraswati; then he is entitled to be called a musician because he likes to listen to the band and tries to play the triangle...."[58]

Mr. Pressey's report went against the attitude of the Government. The Government became helpless in crushing the Samaj.

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58. *Ibid.* (Letter from Lt.-Col. Pressey to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Enclosure-1, dated January 30, 1910).

Then it was thought essential to remove Mr. Pressey from the Regiment and suddenly he was transferred from the 10th Jats and was sent to England. It was alleged that he was not conscious of his duty, not responsible to Government and not loyal to his own race. The General Officer Commanding, Southern Army, prepared confidential report on Mr. Pressey in which he said in conclusion:

> "The possible conclusion is that Mr. Pressey failed to estimate the importance of the issues at stake and did not realise the responsibilities of his position."[59]

From this very time the authorities began to keep strict eyes at the activities of the Arya Samaj and Government decided not to enlist an Arya Samajist in the army.[60]

But in the real sense of the term, the Samaj was not a seditious body. No doubt its gospels aroused a sense of love in the hearts of the Indians for their country, but it never took part in any political agitation directly. It believed that political agitation was futile because a nation which considered millions of human beings as untouchables had no business to talk of liberty and democracy.[61] There are such officials, agents and others of the ruling class who took the Samaj completely as a social and religious body. In his Census Report for the Punjab, for 1891, Sir Edward Maclagan said: "The fact that the Aryas are mainly recruited from one class and that the Samaj possesses a very complete organisation of its own has laid it open to the charge for supporting as a body the proclivities of a large section of its members; but the Samaj as such is not a political but a religious body."[62] Mr. Burn said in his Census Report for the United Province of Agra and Oudh for the year 1901: "The Aryas are would-be politicians is true, but that they are so because they are Aryas is a proposition in the highest degree doubtful."[63] Mr. Blunt in his Census Report for the same province said in 1911 that the Arya Samaj was not a political body.

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59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.* (Deposit), August. 1910, No. 7; Secret, Army Deptt.
61. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, p. 167.
62. Quoted, *ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*

Mr. L. Dane said: "I am not at all sure that the Arya Samaj is a movement to be discouraged. At any rate most of our best and ablest Hindu officials in Upper India are Arya Samajists and, though some politicians may have joined the movement, its real object is, I believe, to reform the grosser abuses to Hinduism and, if so, we ought rather to sympathise with the reformers."[64] His Highness Risley said in 1904: "I am not qualified to speak with authority on the subject of the Samaj, but the impression which I have formed from enquiries made during the Census and from the Census Reports is primarily a religious and social one and that it is only political in the sense that many of its members are also politicians and that in the event of any political agitation being started the organisation of the Samaj would be utilised by the agitators if they were influential members of the sect. To this extent any religious movement that is started by the English educated men is bound to be political. Both the Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj were started by men of this type and both have been greatly influenced by Western thought. The Arya Samaj in particular attempts to prove that the germs of modern scientific discoveries, such as electricity, are to be found in the Veda and they seem to be trying to base a Hindu revival on arguments of this kind, so that instead of copying Western ideas they rediscover them in the Veda and thereby demonstrate their own equality with Europeans. But I do not think that either Samaj can fairly be described as a political organisation and I cannot see why an Arya as such should be regarded as ineligible for a title." On the social side the influence of the Samaj, he remarked, was good. The Samajists promoted education, opposed child marriage, discouraged wasteful expenditure at weddings, and attempted to combat caste exclusiveness in the matter of marriage and of food.[65]

As a matter of fact the Arya Samajic institutions produced quite a large number of men and women who gave a new out-

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64. *Home Public Department Proceedings,* (Deposit), April, 1904, No. 13.

65. *Ibid.* Para-509 (V), May, 1902, Vol. XVI.

look to the Indian people and inspired them to sacrifice their lives at the altar of religion, nation and for all human beings.

Pandit Lekh Ram[66] stands alone among the great Arya Samajists who won the hearts of millions due to his merit and talent. "It was Swami Dayananda", says the *Sat Dharm Pracharak*, "who with his stentorian voice woke the sleeping natives from their deep slumber, and who, while disseminating the light of Vedic religion, created a desire in their minds to seek after the truth. The commotion that was thus created in the creating would quickly have subsided if the Swami had not ended his career by sacrificing himself on the altar of religion. The sacrifice of the Swami created several obstacles to surmount which it was necessary that some smaller sacrifices should also be offered, one of which was Pandit Lekh Ram, whose martyrdom bears testimony to the grandeur of that religion."[67]

Pandit Lekh Ram, a supporter of the Vedic religion, wrote articles on religion and brought out in turn the Takzib Burahin-i-Ahmadiya, Nuskha Khabat Ahmadiya, Chritiar Mal Darpan and several other books. He criticised severely the Islam. The Muslims, therefore, wanted to suppress his work and to end his life. At last he was assassinated by a fanatic in March 1897. In his death, "not only the Samaj army but also the nation army lost its Commander-in-Chief and was left without a head to guide its movements."[68] His treatise on Jehad is very famous in the history of religion.

Mahatma Hans Raj,[69] an important worker of the Arya

66. He was born in a village called Saidpur in the Chakwal Tahsil of the Jhelum District on the 8th Chet, Sambat 1915, in the house of one Sudan Brahmin. He lived mostly with his uncle Ganda Ram, a Deputy Inspector of Police in the Peshawar District. Lekh Ram did not marry and joined the Police Service in 1876. But in 1881, he left the service and joined the Arya Samaj. He met Swami Dayananda at Ajmer and became his disciple. He brought out a tract called *Dharm Upadesh*. He is also known as Arya 'Musafir'. He was murdered in March 1897 by a Musalman.

67. *Sat Dharm Pracharak*, May 21, 1897.

68. *Ibid.*, April, 1, 1897.

69. He was born in a small town called Bajwara in the Ho-

(*Continued on next page*)

Samaj, believed in evolution and regarded social reform as an urgent urge. He opposed caste system and fought for the rights of the depressed classes at Malabar. He also opposed the child marriage and did not allow married boys to study in the D.A.V. College of Lahore of which he was the Principal. Similarly, he was an ardent champion of widow remarriage and was partly responsible for the legislation permitting widow remarriage among the higher class in Nabha State.[70] He was also a lover of female education and popularised it during his lifetime. He presided over the National Social Conference Session held at Amritsar in December, 1919, and spoke on "*Social Reform: Necessary for Hindus.*" In his address he appealed to the audience to take part in crusade against poverty and to be kind enough for the untouchables.[71]

He advocated national education and popularised modern sciences of the West and English literature through his institution. Several times, he lectured on English literature, History, Economics and other subjects with a view to enhancing the idea of nationalism in India. He was also the first educationist to introduce Indian games in his college.[72] He founded a *Young Men's Samaj* in the college in 1896 whose members undertook to lead an active Arya Samajic life and distinguished themselves by a spirit of service and self-sacrifice. He also established schools at Jullundur and Hoshiarpur and a college of Indian medicine. He presided over the Punjab Educational Conference in 1918 and advocated that primary education should be made free and compulsory for all.[73]

(*Continued from previous page*)
shiarpur district on April 19, 1864. He came under the influence of Swami Dayananda in his college days and when the D.A.V. College was started he offered to serve the institution honorarily. He was the leader of the College section in the Arya Samaj split. He was actively associated with the famine relief work. He also took leading part in the Shuddhi Movement. He died on November 16, 1938.

70. Sharma, Sri Ram, *Mahatma Hans Raj: Maker of the Modern Punjab*, p. 76.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

72. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, November, 1909, Nos. 32-41.

73. Sharma, Diwan Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Bhai Paramananda, MA.,[74] was an avowed Arya Samajist. As an Arya emissary, he travelled extensively on the continent in Africa, Japan, throughout India and America. He also went to America in the year 1908.[75] He was a social worker and from time to time he lectured on several topics like 'Social Reform', 'Swami Dayananda and his work', 'The Arya Samaj and its work', etc.[76] In all his lectures he pointed out the merits of social reform and thus popularised the gospel of Dayananda.

He was also an ardent champion of the Vedic religion. He spoke at Agra on February 29, 1909, in praise of the Vedic Dharm and demonstrated it to be the origin of all other religions, saying that the Bible and the Quran were subsequent creations which merely followed the principles of the Vedic religion. He pointed out that owing to the ignorance of the Hindus in matters concerning their own religion, Vedic Dharm was daily losing its power and exhorted his countrymen to exert themselves in order to extend a knowledge of the Vedas.[77]

The Criminal history of Bhai Parmananda prepared by the Intelligence Department clearly shows that he wanted Swaraj for India at the cost of life also. When Government officials searched his house in connection with the Lahore Sedition cases, most important discoveries were made in the house of Bhai Parmananda. A document on the manufacture and use of explosives and bombs was found in his steel trunk, though Bhaiji

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74. He was born in 1874 in the house of Tarachanda of Chakwal in Jhelum district. He was educated at Lahore, Calcutta and London and was appointed a lecturer of History and Political Science in D.A.V. College, Lahore. He was arrested by the British Government in 1909. After his release he visited Trinidad and British Guiana carrying the message of Hinduism. He was sentenced to death in the First Lahore Conspiracy Case and later on the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He joined the Hindu Mahasabha and was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from 1932 to 1946. He died in 1948.

75. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Part-B, February, 1909, Nos. 2-11, NAI.

76. *Ibid.*, November, 1909, Nos. 32-41, NAI.

77. *Ibid.*, April, 1909, Nos. 103-110.

denied that the trunk belonged to him.[78] It was thought by the authority that Parmananda was connected with the extremist, Har Dayal, with E.H. James, the Editor of the *Liberator*, with Shanti Narayan, ex-editor of the '*Swarajya*' of Allahabad and with Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. It was also alleged that he corresponded with an Indian king of Nepal to overthrow the British rule. The Special Magistrate ordered him to execute a bond of Rs. 9,000 with five sureties, to be of good behaviour for three years, in default, to undergo three years' imprisonment. Sureties were paid by his friends and Parmananda was suspended from the D.A.V. College. Then, he travelled British Guiana, America and other countries. He returned to India in December, 1913 and was engaged in preparing the ground for Gadar Party in Lahore, but failed and kept silence. At the end of December, 1914 his book entitled *Tarikh-i-Hind* was proscribed by the Government of the Punjab. Whatever may be the opinion of the Government officials, Bhai Parmananda was a great nationalist who tried to bring the dreams of Swami Dayananda into reality and aroused the spirit of nationalism in India, and particularly in the Punjab.

Ram Bhaj Dutta was famous for his religious zeal, who started the Shuddhi movement to convert non-Hindus and low caste Hindus into the Arya faith. But he also advocated Hindu-Muslim unity. He conducted the '*Rajput Gazette*', a leading paper of Lahore and published many articles on religious movement and Hindu-Muslim unity. On May 5, 1907, he delivered a lecture at Lahore and said that Mohammedan Kings were very good people. During their time and under their rule the Hindus enjoyed great freedom.[79] On March 27, 1907, he again emphasised the importance of Hindu-Muslim union at a meeting held at Lyallpur. He said, "Do not think that we are so many doves. We are lions. It is easy to break a finger, but when combined into a fist they cannot be broken. So make yourself a fist."[80]

78. *Ibid.*, Part-A, January, 1915, No. 8.

79. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-235.

80. *Ibid.*

The nationalist Ram Bhaj was of opinion that Indians should be appointed to the high posts of Government service. In the provinces of the Punjab and Bombay he addressed several meetings on this point and fostered a revolutionary spirit among the educated classes. In a meeting held under the Chairmanship of Sri P.M. Mehta of Bombay Presidency Association, he brought a resolution praying that higher posts in the administration, particularly in the Army, might be thrown upon to natives. The resolution was supported by several persons of the Association and was passed.[81] He also attended the Congress Session at Madras and talked with several members on the point.

Amar Das was a Khatri of Bhera in the Shahpur district. He was a pleader as well as a member of the Arya Samaj. He was a critic of the policy of the British Government and was always ready to lead a revolution against it. It was he who organised a strike amongst the traders of Lahore and utilised the occasion to deliver lectures against the existing rule.[82] He visited Lala Lajpat Rai at Sialkot and helped in the establishment of the District Association. He organised meetings at which addresses were given on the Swadeshi movement. He also took keen interest in the meetings held at Lyallpur and Rawalpindi in 1907. Like Ram Bhaj Dutta, he criticised the Government for appointing Britishers to high posts and neglecting natives. He was a great admirer of Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai.[83]

The women workers of the Arya Samaj were also responsible for arousing national spirit among the Indian people. First of all mention may be made of Shrimati Purani Devi, who was deputed at Hissar to spread the Samajic gospels and to teach women of the district. She also toured the various districts of the Punjab and advocated the cause of Swadeshi. Speaking to the women at Hissar, she criticised the caste restriction, and inspired women to say that they should not bring up their sons only but should be warriors and great in their outlook also.[84] She exhort-

81. *Ibid.*, Part-B, February, 1909, Nos. 2-11.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*, Part-B, Otcober, 1909, Nos. 145-156, NAI.

84. *Ibid.*, March, 1908, No. 48, NAI.

ed them "to bring up their sons not with a view to joining government service, but to an independent participation in trade, specially the manufacture and sale of Swadeshi articles."[85] She was employed by the Women's Branch of the Arya Samaj to spread the Arya doctrines among the Jat women.[86]

Agayavati Devi at Delhi was another woman, who took interest in the Arya Samaj movement. She was responsible for arousing national spirit among both men and women. In several meetings she addressed both the sexes. In one meeting held at Delhi in the year 1908, she threw light on the part played by women in the management of the affairs of their own country in former times and urged that until women were educated, there was little chance of India making any real progress.[87] She started a '*Vidhawa Ashram*' where widows and other women received political training and were taught to preach as she was doing.[88]

Pandita Gaitri Devi was an Arya Samajic lecturer. She always advocated the welfare of general women. She encouraged women to take part in the social reform movement and to help men in their works. She aroused the national spirit in the Punjabee women. At the Arya Samaj anniversary meeting held from 23rd to 26th January, 1908, lectures were delivered on several topics. She was also one of the lecturers and she lectured on female education and social reform.[89]

Sarla Devi, the niece of Sri Rabindra Nath Tagore and a link between Punjab and Bengal revolutionaries, was greatly influenced by the Arya Samajic views. In 1892, she edited '*Bharati*' and through this journal she spread the idea of nationalism in Bengal. She spent several years of her life in Western India where she witnessed the revival of Ganapati festival, Shivaji's Coronation and the organisation of the Society of Physical and Military Training by Damodar and Bal Krishna Chaupekar.[90]

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85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, Part-B, August, 1910, Nos. 10-17, NAI.
87. *Ibid.*, Part-B, October, 1908, No. 18, NAI.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*, Part-B, February, 1908, Nos. 105-112, NAI.
90. *The Modern Review*, June, 1953, p. 469.

She was impressed to see all these and established a centre for physical culture at her place in Calcutta. In 1903 she also organised meetings to celebrate Birastni Brata and Pratapditya Brata for reviving the heroic spirit among the people. She also opened a Bhandar (Lakshmi-Bhandar) for popularising Swadeshi goods.

She was married to Ram Bhaj Dutta of Lahore in 1905. Her centre of activities was now shifted from Bengal to Punjab, but she maintained a link with Bengal too.[91] She believed in constructive works. She organised the Suhrid Samity in 1905, as an instrument for political work and tried to infuse a martial spirit into the members of the Samity by introducing religious rituals.[92] She also organised Agricultural Farms to propagate the technique of agriculture.[93] One such farm was organised in Sylhet district and Kedarnath was put incharge of it. The agents of the Criminal Intelligence Department disclosed that the members of the farm were in close touch with the members of the Suhrid Samity. She opened the Arya Samaj branches for women in the Punjab. Addressing a meeting at the Arya Samaj Girls' School at Saharanpur, she said, "knowledge is the great remedy for fear. Give knowledge to your women folk. Get them rid of fear and they will transmit fearlessness to your veins. Do not let all this remain mere talk, a theme for day's platform, speaking, clapping only but be sincere, be alert, arise, awake, and having achieved the goal, rest."[94] She was never afraid of criticising the police also. She condemned the police officer of the Criminal Intelligence Department who had followed her to keep a watch over her activities. She said, "there was a stripling, a boy of my own race and blood, corrupt to the core, treacherous to a degree, trying in the meanest cowardly fashion to frighten a lady supposed to be partial to the motherland out of wits to get lift in Criminal Intelligence Department."[95]

91. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, May, 1909, No. 135.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*, Part-B, April, 1909, No. 2.

94. *Ibid.*, Part-B, May, 1909, No. 135.

95. *Ibid.*, Part-B, November, 1908, Nos. 63-70.

To provide immediate incentive to the people to take interest in the affairs of their country, she arranged competitions and awarded prizes and medals to the best speakers. Such arrangements were made in Lahore and other places of the country. Her favourite subjects for competitions were: (1) Welcome to Hardships; (2) Knowledge; (3) Patriotism and also for the best eassy on *'The Punjabee Language'* and *'Hindu-Muslim Unity.'*[96] She also arranged meetings in which she encouraged discussions on topics like female education and patriotism.[97] She was also a good companion of her husband in the work of Shuddhi and went to Gurdaspur where about 1,360 people belonging to low caste were converted to Hinduism. She enhanced the national movement by establishing, *Bharat Stri Mahamandal* at Lahore and branches of this Mandal at Allahabad and Calcutta. The object of the Mandal was to bring together the women of all castes and creeds on the basis of their common interest in the moral and material progress of women in India.[98]

The Government could not ignore the activities and the lead given by Shrimati Sarla Devi and so, she was put under surveillance. An agent of Lahore informed about her that, "She never loses an opportunity of propagating the extremist political ideals of Bengal."[99] She was told that if she objected to being watched she should not bring herself in the public by going about establishing women's branches of the Arya Samaj and she should not associate with those whom she knew to be suspected of disloyalty and that she should not contribute articles even on innocent subjects to magazines.[100]

Shrimati Sarla Devi came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi in the year 1919. She was one of the few women in the Punjab who raised their voice against tyranny of General

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96. *Ibid.*, Part-B, April, 1908, Nos. 42-49.

97. *Ibid.*, Part-B, April, 1908, No. 2.

98. *The Modern Review*, October, 1911, p. 344.

99. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, July, 1911, Nos. 1-4.

100. *Ibid.*

Dyer.[101] She also took part in the franchise movement set in motion by Mrs. Cousins. In Bengal it was she who was instrumental in securing a voting right for the women. She was, thus, an ardent Congress worker also till her death in 1945 and a helper in the success of various campaigns launched to achieve freedom.

101. *Ibid.*, Part-B, February, 1921, Nos. 74-79, NAI.

CHAPTER VII

The Arya Samaj and the Indian National Congress

Once Lala Lajpat Rai, analysing the differences between the Arya Samaj and the Indian National Congress, pointed out that the Arya Samaj had a more modest sphere than the Indian National Congress and the former was more responsible for arousing the national spirit in the country. There was, according to him, wide enough field in the Arya Samaj for a patriot, pure and simple, to do as much practical good to the country. The Indian National Congress had been demanding rights; but the Arya Samaj had been teaching the lesson of duty. The former had taught the people what their political desires and aspirations should be; but the latter had fitted them for the task of obtaining their rights. The Congress found fault with the Government; but the Arya Samaj had induced the people to find out their own shortcomings. The Congress made the well-being of the people depend wholly on the generosity and kindness of Government; but the Samaj tried to perfect people's character, i.e., to implant resolution, perseverance and morality in them. The "Congress was for bringing about a change in the treatment of the ruled by the rulers; but the Samaj was for fostering the natural process of the advancement of a people. Finally the Congress gave it out that its object was to secure Swaraj or self-government for the country; whereas the Samaj was born 'with a permanent Swaraj or self-government which had already attained perfection and was prevalent throughout the country."[1]

1. *The Hindustan*, October 9, 1908.
Also Report on the Native Newspapers, Punjab, Vol. II, (June-December), 1908, pp. 620-21.

Though the Indian National Congress was established for the attainment of the political emancipation of the country, and the Arya Samaj for the social and religious emancipation, yet both were one at some places. Their social and religious outlooks were the same. The Congress was bound to include social and religious problems in its agenda because 'political freedom was out of hand without the social progress.' Even before the birth of the Congress, the social organisations had started a socio-religious movement and the social reform had become a national problem. It was, therefore, impossible for the Congress to neglect this national question and to adhere only to political reform. So it became an inescapable part of the Congress movement too. In fact the National Congress outgrew in political form and for its ideals took cue from the social organisations. Without the active support and sustenance of the social institutions, the Congress could not have become popular and reached the grass-roots so soon. The Congress thereby not only became a mouth-piece of the social organisations, but also could not shed its social character nor abandon its social base altogether.[2] Again, even before the birth of the Congress, allied to this question, grew the large problem of the society and the idea of unity. The social reformers pointed out the discrepancies and demanded a reorganisation of the social set up in the light of the new situation which arose as a result of the growth of the English rule. The Congress felt that no miracle of freedom could be built upon the quick-sand of social slavery. It was this realisation which helped the formulation of a clearer idea of political freedom. Thus the social factors, aroused by the social organisations, became an integral part of the nationalist movement. Political circumstances helped, or were an added factor, but essentially, the beginning of a National Movement was a social urge. The social reformers were, in fact, premier in the task of national independence from alien domination. They had pointed out that the institution of caste, one evil of society, must give way before the progressive ideas of liberty and democracy. The early efforts at social, religious and edu-

2. Dua, R.P., *Social Factors in the Birth and Growth of the Indian National Congress Movement*, p. 1.

cational reforms were important factors which gave birth to the idea of political liberty as expressed in the West. The efforts of the Arya Samaj were highly admirable in this respect. The Arya Samaj movement was national not in the sense that it sought to strive for the political emancipation of the country, but in the sense that it was organised and led by the people of the country and was grounded in the ancient culture of the land as against the cultural domination of the West.

The Arya Samaj took up social reform as an integral part of its programme and promoted the remarriage of widows, inter-marriages between members of different castes and sub-castes, raised the status of women and untouchables, advocated national education and aroused the spirit of self-sacrifice and Swadeshi for the progress of the society. Dayananda was the only reformer, except Raja Ram Mohan Rai, who fought for social purity, educational progress and stood against caste system and other bad evils of the society. Later on in the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi maintained that character of Dayananda after 1918. He was also the mentor of modern social welfare. As a social reformer, he, like Dayananda, practised what he preached. He helped in casting aside convention and rigidity. Especially his work to eradicate untouchability helped in strengthening the grass-root base of the Congress.[3]

Practically every President of the National Congress till 1907 laid stress on the fact that the basic task before the Congress was social uplift of the masses. It was because a large portion of its leadership came from the ranks of social organisations which had earned esteem; and the men carried with them the organisational ability, above all, an association with the masses. Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, the Father of the Congress, in his celebrated reply to Sir Auckland Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces (modern Uttar Pradesh), clearly enunciated the real aims and objects of the Congress movement. They were, "the regeneration of India on all lines, spiritual, moral, social, industrial and political."[4] W.C. Bannerjee,

3. *Ibid.*, Int., pp. VIII-IX.
4. Quoted. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

the first President of the Congress, classified the objects of the Congress in which one object was the promotion of personal intimacy and friendship among all the more earnest workers in India's cause.[5] This was clearly a social object. In introduction to Mr. Natesan's *'Indian Politics'*, Mr. W.C. Bannerjee wrote about the origin of the Congress: "Mr. A.O. Hume, C.B., had in 1884 conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss, 'social matters' and be upon friendly footing with one another."[6] The purpose of the Congress, namely, to discuss social matters, as said above, was thus underlined. Dadabhai Naoroji (Calcutta, 1886) and Badruddin Tyabji (Madras, 1887) argued that a National Congress must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to individual communal social organisations.[7] The objection of these leaders, to the inclusion of social reforms in Congress discussions, no doubt, excited applause at the time but seems a little pallid and artificial now. However, it must be added that those who were inclined to direct the movement towards premature political activities did not underestimate the urgent necessity of social reforms.

The Congress included the social resolutions in its future sessions also. Mr. P. Ananda Charlu (Nagpur, 1891) in his Presidential address, firmly held that the Congress would have to make its primary task that of, 'awakening the spasmodic enthusiasm of our unanglicised brethren' and to transmit 'the light of the enlightened heart', first, caught by the then leadership, 'to the lower strata of our society as a sense of duty and a sense of honour.' The Congress would not betray the trust reposed in it.[8] In his second Presidential address (Lahore, 1893), Dadabhai Naoroji also underlined the role of the Congress vis-a-vis the 'poverty of India'. He said, "This (the poverty of India) will be, I am much afraid, the great future trouble both of the Indian people and of the British rulers. It is the rock."[9]

5. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, p. 3.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12 and 31.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.
9. *Report, 9th I.N.C.*, Lahore, 1893.

Alfred Webb, M.P., an Irishman, in his Presidential address (Madras, 1894) in the tenth year of the Congress, held whatever the scope of political activities of the Congress 'to work for the good of our fellows will remain the most effective field, because nothing was more striking in considering the condition of India than its poverty.' He also referred to the vices—Drinking and Opium—which had affected the lower strata of the population.[10]

Rahimtullah Sayani (Calcutta, 1896) dealt with some of the objections, raised by the third President, Badruddin Tyabji, to discuss social reforms in the Congress meetings. He lauded the efforts of those responsible for, in fact underlined the significance of the meetings since 1889 of the National Congress, because the side by side holding of the Social Reforms Conference aimed primarily at ameliorating the condition of women.[11] One may recall here the words of Rabindranath Tagore, who had great regard for the women who had occupied a respectable place in the Vedas. He said, "The national movement was started to proclaim that we must not be indiscriminate in our rejection of the past. This was not a reactionary movement, but a revolutionary one, because it set out with a great courage to deny and to oppose all pride in mere borrowing."[12] Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, while founding the *Servants of India Society,* laid special emphasis on the social, economic, and educational betterment of the people and amelioration of the depressed classes and offered a proper leadership in this direction.[13]

The Arya Samaj gave its two leaders to the Indian National Congress movement who, as Congress workers and members, advocated social reform, Swadeshi and political emancipation of India and gave their best assistance to the strengthening of the Congress movement. They were Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhananda.

10. *Report, 10th I.N.C.,* Madras, 1894.

11. *Congress Presidential Addresses,* p. 313.

12. Quoted in Bose, Nemai Sadhan, *The Indian National Movement: An Outline,* p. 21.

13. *Gokhale's Papers,* File No. 203-1 (NAI).

Lajpat Rai's first association with the Indian National Congress dates from its third Session at Madras in December, 1887. It was presided over by Badruddin Tyabji in order to enlist the support of the Muslims who had been advised by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the leader of the Aligarh movement, to keep aloof from the Congress.[14] Lajpat Rai did not play any remarkable role at the Madras Session, but towards the end of 1888 he published four *'Open Letters to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan'* in which he criticised Sir Syed's attack on the Congress as being inconsistent with Sir Syed's earlier advocacy of Hindu-Muslim co-operation. All his letters were published in *Kohi-i-Noor*, the Urdu Weekly of Lahore.[15] Lajpat Rai quoted from Sir Syed's Gurdaspur speech on January 27, 1884 in which he had declared that it was essential for Hindus and Muslims to support each other and act in unison. He advocated the same idea in an address to the Indian Association of Lahore and explained that in the word 'qaum' (society or nation) he included both Hindus and Muslims who were dependent on one another for the advancement of their common interests. Lala Lajpat Rai attempted in his open letters to refute Sir Syed's charges by arguing that the Congress aimed at advancing the very ideas which he had advocated before 1888 and challenged him to explain his volte-face.

The Open Letters created quite a stir in political circles. These received high praise from the senior Congress leaders and Mr. Hume published the English version of these letters in a pamphlet. When Lajpat Rai arrived at Allahabad to attend the fourth Congress, he received a warm welcome. George Yule presided over this Congress. During the session Lajpat Rai delivered a short speech in which he repeated his criticism of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.[16] He also attended the fifth session of the Congress held in December, 1889, and after it his interest in the Congress faded. During the next fourteen years he virtually did not take part in the Congress movement except for his attendance at its annual meetings at Lahore in 1893 and 1900.

14. Speeches and Letters of Syed Ahmad Khan, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1888, *"On the Present State of Indian Politics"*, I.O.L., Track 733.

15. *Kohi-i-Noor*, Oct. 27, Nov. 15, Nov. 22 and Dec. 20, 1888.

16. *Report, 4th I.N.C.*, Allahabad, p. 34.

Lala Lajpat Rai had come to regard the Congress as an Anglicised organisation whose leaders 'cared more for fame and pomp than for the interests of the country.'[17] He shared the views of his Arya Samajic friends, Lala Sain Das and Mahatma Hans Raj, who rejected the Congress because they believed that the Congress, having been founded by an Englishman (Mr. Hume) and being an anglicised body, could not be expected to work for India's freedom. Lajpat Rai believed, alongwith them, that the Congress had been founded as an innocuous organisation in order to divert the attention of the Indian people from organising a militant movement.[18] The second reason for Lajpat Rai's criticism of Congress stemmed from his Arya Samaj-inspired conviction that the attempts of the Congress to court the co-operation of the Muslims were not only futile but dangerous to the interests of the Hindus. He wanted along with Mul Raj and Sain Das first to work for Hindu solidarity. He pointed out that the Hindus were weaker in spite of their majority because of their social and religious disunity.[19] Hence, he asserted, the Congress would have done better if it had concentrated its whole effort on fostering Hindu national unity instead of clinging to the facade of an Indian National body which falsely claimed to represent all Hindus and all Muslims. He further believed that the Congress was a movement, "of reform, not of Swaraj."[20]

Though Lajpat Rai criticised the aims and methods of the Congress and adhered more to the Arya Samaj, yet he did not completely eschew politics. He joined the ninth Congress held at Lahore in 1893, but did not take active part. In this session he met Bal Gangadhar Tilak for the first time. The acquaintance between the two leaders ripened into deep friendship. In 1897, when Tilak was arrested on a charge of sedition, Lajpat Rai collected funds in Lahore for the defence of his friend.[21]

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17. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 86.
18. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Young India*, pp. 70-75.
19. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Autobiographical Writings*, pp. 87-88.
20. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Kayastha Samachar*, "The Coming Indian National Congress—Some Suggestions." November, 1901.
21. *Home Public (Confidential) Department Proceedings* (Deposit), June, 1905, No. 37.

When the Congress was convened at Lahore in 1900, Lajpat Rai attended the session and moved a resolution (No. XII) which stipulated that at least half a day of each annual session of the Congress should be devoted exclusively to a discussion on industrial and educational problems.[22]

The significance of this resolution lies in the fact that it insinuated in its vague wording the idea of committing the Congress to deliberate on the ways and means of Swadeshi. This issue proved pivotal during 1905-1907, to the cleavages within the Congress. In the wake of the resolution, two committees—Industrial Committee and Educational Committee—were appointed to consider the improvement of Indian industries and promote industrial education.[23] Nevertheless, the gains of the Punjabis in the Indian National Committee and the approval of Lajpat Rai's resolution presented a potential threat to the hold of the oligarchy over the Congress. Lajpat Rai became a member of the Indian National Congress Committee for 1901.

On the eve of the Calcutta Congress Session of 1901, Lala Lajpat Rai called upon the national organisation to shed off its festive character and undertake serious business instead of utterances of 'plausibly worded platitudes and well-disguised commonplaces.'[24] He had published two essays in view of the approaching Calcutta Session. In the first article entitled, "*The Economic and Industrial Campaign in India*", he blamed the Government and the prominent leaders of the Congress for the poverty of India;[25] and in second article, "*The Coming Indian National Congress—Some Suggestions*", he criticised the character, method and aim of the Congress.[26] He attacked the Congress for its attempt to project a false unity in its anxiety to speak in the name of all Indians—Hindus and Muslims—while a good many of them did not sympathise with the Congress. He suggested that the Congress should be a bold Hindu political

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22. *Report, 16th I.N.C.*, Lahore, 1900, Resolution-XII.
23. *Report, 16th I.N.C.*, Lahore, 1900, Resolution-XXV, p. 79.
24. Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Man in his Own Word*, pp. 252-266.
25. *The Kayastha Samachar*, August, 1901, pp. 131-135.
26. *Ibid.*, November, 1901, pp. 376-385.

organisation, instead of posing as an all-embracing body which jeopardised the chance of creating a united front of Hindus.[27] He, in the same vein, attacked the National Social Conference. He argued that because Muslims and Christians were allowed to participate in its deliberations, the resolutions of the National Social Conference were rendered meaningless. He suggested that the Conference should deal with tangible problems relating to Hindu society such as the protection of Hindu orphans from being converted to Christianity and Islam.

When the Calcutta session was convened, the existence of the Indian National Committee was completely ignored and the resolution moved by Lala Lajpat Rai in the former session at Lahore to devote half a day to industrial subjects was not implemented.[28] Lajpat Rai's appeal for giving help to Hindu orphans and famine-stricken people was also ignored in the National Social Conference which was held immediately after the Calcutta Session.[29] Lajpat Rai expressed his reaction to the Calcutta Congress in two articles in which he advocated the need for a struggle within the Congress and the abandonment of constitutional agitation. In the first article, entitled, *"The Principles of Political Progress"*, he held that the sacrifice was necessary for bringing Swaraj. He did not believe in passing resolutions and delivering lectures.[30] In his second article, entitled *"A Study of Hindu Nationalism"*, he held that differences and controversial discussions were absolutely necessary for the healthy growth of nationalism provided one unifying ideal overruled minor differences.[31]

Lala Lajpat Rai and Gopal Krishna Gokhale went to England in May 1905 to bring the claims of India before the electors, before the parliamentary candidates and before the political leaders.[32] Before his departure for England, Lajpat Rai de-

27. *Ibid.*
28. *Report, the 17th I.N.C.*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 68.
29. *The Kayastha Samachar*, January, 1902, p. 105.
30. *East and West*, August, 1902, Vol. I, p. 1040.
31. *The Kayastha Samachar*, September-October, 1902.
32. *Report, 20th I.N.C.*, Bombay, 1904, Resolution-XV, pp. 59-60.

nounced the Government of India for its tyrannical rule and declared his uncompromising attitude to the Congress by emphasising that, unlike previous delegations of the Congress to England, he would mainly seek support not from the Liberals but from the Social Democratic Federation of Henry Hyndman.[33] In London, he delivered his first lecture at the meeting of the National Democratic League which was strongly resented by Sir Henry Cotton. During August, 1905, he addressed a meeting of the Liberal Party at Kettering and a meeting of the Labour Party in Lincolnshire. Also he went to America from London and addressed meetings in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.[34]

On his return to India Lajpat Rai expressed his opinion in brief declaring that the Indians should cease to accept any support from England and should exert their own efforts to achieve political reforms.[35] He also called for militant action in India.

Lajpat Rai, now the militant leader of India, opposed the resolution of welcome to the Prince of Wales at the twenty-first Session of the Congress held at Benaras in December, 1905 under the Presidentship of Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Tilak supported the idea of Lajpat Rai but the Moderates, who were in majority, passed the resolution. Lala Lajpat Rai addressed the Benaras Session on the last day and condemned Bengal's partition and advocated the boycott of English courts and English goods.[36] But when the 1905 Congress Session passed no resolution on Boycott, the radical leaders—Bipin Chandra Pal; the worshipper of Shakti, Mr. Tilak; organiser of heroes' festivals, Aurobindo Ghose; the supporter of the views of Dayananda and Lajpat Rai; the Arya Samajists—reacted.[37] These leaders came to be known as the extremists who dismissed prayers and appeals to the British Gov-

33. *The Punjabee*, May 15, 1905.

Also *Home Political Department Procedings*, Part-A, August, 1907, Nos. 148-235.

34. *Gokhale's Papers*, Letter No. 296-4, October 13, 1905.

35. *The Indian Review*, November, 1905, pp. 750-51.

36. *Report, 21st I.N.C.*, Benaras, 1905, pp. 73-74.

37. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, July 17, 1907, Nos. 7590|106.

ernment as useless mendicancy and emphasised that the Government of India would hand over its power when "the force of circumstances compelled it to do so in spite of itself."[38]

The 22nd Session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in December, 1906 under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji, who for the first time uttered the word Swaraj from the Congress platform. But there arose a conflict between the Congressmen on the formulation of the Boycott and Swadeshi resolutions. While Surendra Nath Banerjea, Pheroz Shah Mehta and Madan Mohan Malviya insisted on limiting the endorsement of boycott to only Bengal, Bipin Chandra Pal along with his party demanded Congress recommendation of universal economic and political boycott and they all cried of, "down with Banerjea", "down with Mehta."[39] Now the radical leaders began to advocate Swadeshi and Boycott. For them these two were religions and the manifestations of self-sacrificing patriotism.

During the period Lala Lajpat Rai's speech inspired the people of India, particularly of the Punjab. The discontent arose in the Punjab as soon as the legislation of Colonisation Bill was passed in 1907, and the Bari Doab canal water rate was increased. At last the Rawalpindi riots occurred and Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested and sent to Mandalay. When he returned from Mandalay, he kept himself aloof from the Arya Samaj and concentrated from 1908 to 1914 on three issues: famine relief, the elevation of untouchables and the Hindu-Muslim conflict.

In April 1914, Lajpat Rai went to England with the intention of staying there for some months, but his return to India was forbidden until February, 1920. When the Indian National Congress pledged its whole-hearted support to England in the First World War, Lajpat Rai opposed to this and asserted that Indians should not support England in the war as mercenaries.[40] From England Lajpat Rai went to New York at the invitation of two members of the Ghadar Party—Chandra Chakravarti and Heramba Lal Gupta—where he delivered a lecture in Hindustani

38. *The Indian Review*, May, 1906, p. 356.
39. Row, B.B., *The 22nd I.N.C.*, 1907, I.O.L., Tract 1028.
40. *Report, 29th I.N.C.*, Madras, 1914, p. 99.

Association meeting in which he laid stress on getting Swaraj for India.[41]

When Lala Lajpat Rai returned to India in February, 1920, India was completely changed. The Rowlatt Act had been passed and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre had ruined thousand lives. Mahatma Gandhi had been arrested. Lala Lajpat Rai was elected as president of the Special Calcutta Session in September. He invited the Moderates to attend the Session in September, 1920. The keynote of the Special Session was Mahatma Gandhi's resolution for complete non-co-operation, including the boycott of the Legislative Councils. Lajpat Rai avoided his own commitment on Non-co-operation, but in winding up the Session he warned that Mahatma Gandhi's plan would not be practised effectively and would not succeed in paralysing the Government.[42] However, Mahatma Gandhi's resolution was approved by a majority vote. On the eve of the Nagpur Session Lajpat Rai attempted to form with C.R. Das and Madan Mohan Malviya an opposition block against Mahatma Gandhi. But, he was compelled by the Punjabee delegates to support Mahatma Gandhi or forfeit his leadership of the Punjab. Lajpat Rai, at last, having accepted the programme of non-co-operation, entered the struggle with exuberant fervour and was arrested with other leaders on December 3, and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment under the Seditious Meetings Act. On January 31, 1921 he was released but was re-arrested soon and was again released in September, 1923. By April, 1925, he became exasperated by the failure of non-co-operation movement and criticised Mahatma Gandhi for being too much of an idealist with regard to Hindu-Muslim relations.[43]

On October 30, 1928 Lajpat Rai alongwith Mr. Malviya headed a procession at Lahore against the Simon Commission in which both were charged with lathies by the police. The procession was broken, but regrouped and was addressed by

41. *Home Political Department Proceedings* (Deposit), July, 1919, No. 55, NAI. Also *Rowlatt Report*, pp. 52-53.

42. *The Hindu*, September 9, 1920.

43. *Hindustan Review*, April, 1925, pp. 240-248.

Lajpat Rai in the following words: "Every blow that was hurled at us this afternoon was a nail in the coffin of the British Government."[44]

Lala Lajpat Rai passed away on November 17, 1928 and left a rich legacy for his countrymen whom he had loved and for whom he had suffered. It was a legacy of a rich patriot, a relentless campaigner for freedom and an ardent religious and social reformer.

Swami Shraddhananda, the militant monk of India, was a firm Satyagrahi of the Indian National Congress. He joined the Congress in 1888 and was appointed the Secretary of the Jullundur Congress, a local unit. In the meeting of the Executive Committee of the local Congress he placed a programme of intensive propaganda work for the towns and villages of the district before the members and asked volunteers to go round educating the masses and finding out their grievances.[45] When the Congress Session was held at Lahore in the year 1893, the Swami helped Bakshi Jaishi Ram, the acting Secretary of the local Congress, for the smooth running of the Session and delivered ten to twelve lectures on the aims and objects of the Congress at different places of the Punjab. The first lecture of the series was arranged at Amritsar where he advised the people to follow the path of the Cóngress. When the Congress Session was convened, the Swami was also elected a delegate to attend the Session. But he was soon disappointed as the Congress was doing nothing to strengthen the moral character of the people. Hence for full six years after the Lahore Session, he had no connection with the Congress movement. He concentrated his energies on the preaching of one God and on laying the foundation of the Gurukul.

The Swami attended the Lucknow Session in December, 1899 and placed his Gurukul message before the politicians. But he got disappointment because nobody could give ear to his message. For the next six years he never attended the Con-

44. *Times*, London, October 31, 1928.

45. *Home Public Department Proceedings*, Part-B, February, 1898, Nos. 153-156.

gress Session. In the year 1907 he tried to sweeten the relation between the Moderates and the Extremists at the Surat Session.[46] He also took part in the Allahabad Session in which he delivered a lecture on untouchability and tried to impress upon the delegates and visitors on the necessity of giving the untouchables full social and religious rights as a matter of bare justice. Before the year 1916, he did not take part in the Congress movement and remained busy in the educational work. But in 1916, he took part in the Lucknow Congress Session and advocated before the delegates that emancipation was impossible without unity between Hindus and Muslims. When the Satyagrah movement under Mahatma Gandhi was started, he also took part in it. His proposal to make Satyagrah successful was to start Panchayats and thus boycott the British courts indirectly; to prepare at least ten districts for refusal to pay land revenue and taxes simultaneously by October, 1919.[47] He himself promised to prepare five districts for the same. Under the presidentship of Dr. M.A. Ansari, a Satyagrah meeting was held at Delhi in which the Swami read papers and said that the movement was more religious and less political.[48] As a Satyagrahi he began to deliver lectures at different places at Delhi. His first public connection with the Satyagrah movement was on March 7, 1919 when a public meeting was convened in the Congress Pandal at Delhi to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.[49] In the meeting he informed the audience that if the Rowlatt Bills were passed, the public would be at the mercy of the Criminal Intelligence Department, and that Home Rule would be impossible. He next appeared at a similar meeting on March 24, 1919 at Delhi in which he accused the police of arranging dacoities which were attributed to demobilised soldiers, in order to ensure the passing of the Rowlatt Bills.[50] He spoke again on 27th March, 1919 and in course of his speech he said that when the Rowlatt Bills

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46. Swami Shraddhananda, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

47. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Part-B, May, 1919, Nos. 268-273.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

were enforced, no religious, social or political society would be able to carry on its work.[51]

Shraddhananda presided at a meeting on March 29, 1919. At this meeting he said that before dismissing the audience he wished to put forward a few suggestions made by various persons: (1) If the tramcars did not join in the hartal the next day, no one should make use of them. The same procedure should be adopted with hackney carriages; (2) If the theatres or cinemas were open, no one should attend them; (3) The authorities were reported to have sent for four thousand troops. The people should not take the initiative, but should refuse to obey the orders of the military. To make Satyagrah successful he also urged the audience to accustom themselves to undergo hardships outside as well as inside the jails.[52] He also headed a large crowd of Satyagrahis advancing up the Chandni Chowk (Delhi).

On April 2, 1919, a meeting of the Satyagraha Sabha took place in which it was decided not to hold a hartal on April 6. But Swami Shraddhananda opposed this and in April 1919, he delivered a lecture at Sisganj Gurdwara and said that the sacrifices were necessary if liberty was to be attained.[53] On April 4, 1919 he went to the Jama Masjid and at the request of the Moulvi Abdul Majeed, he addressed the Vedic verse which inculcated the Fatherland and Motherland. In course of his sermon he also referred to the tyranny of the Government which had been practised against the children and innocent youths of India. But on April 6 when a meeting was held at the Jama Masjid he was not permitted to ascend the mukabbar; but he delivered a prayer from the floor of the mosque and advocated the unity between Hindus and Muslims.[54]

When Mahatma Gandhi was arrested, the Swami extended the Satyagrah movement through the agency of the Arya Samaj. He addressed a meeting on April 11, 1919 on the banks of

51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*

Jamuna and urged people to be ready to follow the example of Gandhiji. At the second meeting, he read a resolution making every Indian to follow Gandhi's example until the Rowlatt Bills were repealed and made an impatient appeal to the people to suffer every hardship in order to attain their political goal. On April 13, he spoke at a largely attended meeting at Pataudi House and made attack on the Criminal Intelligence Department's agents hinting that they would make every effort to destroy Hindu-Muslim unity by defiling mosques and temples. He urged the early appointment of Panchayats and the boycott of the courts. The Delhi Government became restless to see the activities of the militant monk; and passed an order under Rule 3(b) of the Defence of India Rules directing Shraddhananda to reside at a specified place in the Central Provinces.[55]

When the Satyagraha movement ended, the Swami resigned from the position as a Satyagrahi and engaged himself in the work of unity between Hindus and Muslims. But he could not survive for a long time. A fanatic Mohammedan named Abdul Rashid shot him and Swami Shraddhananda passed away on December 23, 1926. At the death of the Swami, relation between Hindus and Muslims became embittered and there were several meetings in Bihar, Delhi, Punjab, Mysore and other provinces to mourn the death of the martyr.[56] Pandit Nehru paid his homage in the following words: "The end of that year 1926 was darkened by a great tragedy...Shraddahanda was assassinated by a fanatic as he lay in bed. What a death for a man who had bared his chest to the bayonets of the Gurkhas and marched to meet their fire! Nearly eight years earlier he, an Arya Samajist leader, had stood in the pulpit of the great Jama Musjid of Delhi and preached to a mighty gathering of Muslims and Hindus of unity and India's freedom...."[57]

Two leaders—Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhananda—were greatly responsible for arousing the spirit of nationalism in the Punjab. The Punjab was the centre of the activities of Arya

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55. *Ibid.*
56. File No. F. 32-27|1927, NAI.
57. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *An Autobiography,* p. 160.

Samaj and the Samaj had revolutionised the lives of the Punjabees. The Punjabees had learnt lessons that "when a nation falls on evil days, the natives have to bear untold misery and suffering" and "the Swadeshi Rajya is by far the best". Therefore, Punjabees were never ready to accept any oppressive measure of the Government. Naturally when the Rowlatt Bills were passed, the Punjab along with other Indian provinces revolted and tried to make successful the Satyagraha movement. The Government passed the Rowlatt Bills which gave rudest shock to the sentiment of Indians. During the First World War, Mr. Gandhi had called upon India to go all out to help the British Empire though Lajpat Rai had opposed. Gandhiji had put his faith in British promises. But the Rowlatt Act made it clear that India's masters were determined to rule her with force. India expected self-Government but first came coercion.[58] These laws were characterised as "unjust, subversive of the elementary rights of an individual." Gandhiji called upon the people of India to take pledge that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they were withdrawn, they could refuse civilly to obey these laws. The bills became laws, and his Satyagraha movement began on April 6, 1919, with general closing of shops, suspension of all business activities, fastings, prayers and public meetings all over the country. It was this Rowlatt Bill which hustled Gandhiji into riding the storm of active Indian politics. From 1919 to his death in 1948, he occupied the centre of the Indian stage and was the chief hero of the great historical drama which culminated in the independence of his country. He changed the entire character of political scene in India.[59] In Delhi, Ahmedabad and Calcutta there were anti-British demonstrations and firing resulting in loss of life and injury.

But a grim tragedy was enacted in the Punjab, the land of the Arya Samaj. The Punjab was one of the storm centres of which was regarded by the British Government as 'sedition' and 'terrorism'. In the opinion of O'Dwyer, the Governor of the Punjab, the Punjab was "the only great province which made

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58. Polak, H.S., and others, *Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 127.
59. Kripalani, Krishna, *Gandhi: A Life*, pp. 110-111.

really serious war effort."[60] He, therefore, threw an iron curtain round the land of the Five Rivers and banned the entry of national leaders from outside. The Punjab was isolated, cut off from the rest of India; a thick veil seemed to cover it and hide it from outside eyes. There was hardly any news, and people could not go there or come out from there.

When on April 10, 1919, Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were suddenly arrested and deported, the Punjab declared hartal and the Punjabees went to the Deputy Commissioner's residence to demand the release of the two leaders. The crowd was peaceful; it carried no sticks or lathies.[61] But a change in the temper came when the police tried to force it by a shower of bullets. The men in the crowd then assaulted any European, man or woman, they could lay their hands on. They sacked two banks, set afire their premises and killed their European managers; and two other Europeans. Mahatma Hans Raj was very active in organising the people against the Government and to make Satyagraha successful. Now the situation was very serious and the Government began to think of crushing it at any cost.

On April 11, an army commandar, General Dyer took command of the troops in the city and issued an order on April 12, prohibiting all public gatherings, though steps were not taken to ensure its publication. This proclamation was read out in some parts, but in many parts it was not.[62] Perhaps in the defiance of the proclamation, political leaders announced a public meeting for April 13. Both General Dyer and the Civil authorities not only took notice of this announcement, but quietly "allowed people to assemble in the Jallianwala Bagh."[63] The garden had only one gate. The walls were too high for the people to climb over. It was like "shooting rats caught in a trap."[64] When some 20.000 people had gathered in the Bagh at 4.30 P.M. and while

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60. O'Dwyer, Michael, *India as I knew it*, p. 226.

61. *Report of the Disorders Inquiry Committee*, p. 21.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

63. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Deposit, August, 1920, No. 29.

64. Quoted in Kripalani, Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Hans Raj was speaking, Dyer entered the place with about 500 British and 100 Indian troops and, "without a word of warning, he opened fire at about 100 yards' range upon a dense crowd. The panic-stricken multitude broke at once, but for ten consecutive minutes he kept up a merciless fusillade—in all 1,650 rounds—on that seething mass of humanity caught like rats in a trap, vainly rushing for the few narrow exits or lying flat on the ground to escape the rain of bullets, which he personally directed to the points where the crowd was the thickest."[65] General Dyer admitted in evidence later that he would have used his machine guns, had he been able to move the armoured cars down the narrow lane.[66] The wounded, under Dyer's order, were left there groaning the whole night without water and medical aid.

Jallianwala tragedy was only the most horrible of official atrocities in the Punjab. Two days after this wholesale slaughter, Martial Law was declared in the five districts of the Punjab and enforced with inhuman severity. As soon as the news reached Lahore on April 13, that Gandhi had been arrested, a procession with black flags was taken out. There was firing again on the crowd. On April 14, public leaders were arrested. Lahore was humiliated in every conceivable manner. Lawyers and their agents and touts were ordered to get themselves registered and not to leave the city without permits; occupants of the buildings on which the Martial Law notices were pasted were required to protect them under the pain of punishment, more than two persons were not allowed to walk about abreast on the side walks. Public kitchens were closed. Students of the colleges were to report themselves four times daily at a place several miles distant from their colleges.

At Kasur, there was serious violence. On April 12, crowds did considerable damage to the railway station, burnt a small oil shed, damaged signal and telegraph wires, attacked a train in which were some Europeans and beat two soldiers to death, a branch post office was looted, the main post office burnt, the

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65. Chirol, V., *India Old and New*, p. 178.

66. Pole, D. Graham, *India in Transition*, pp. 42-43.

Munsiff's court set on fire and other damages done.[67] At Gujranwala on April 14, crowds surrounded and stoned a train, burnt a small railway bridge and fired another railway bridge where a calf had been killed by the police. The telegraph office and railway station were subsequently set on fire, as well as the Dak Bungalow, Collector's office, a Church, a school and a railway shed.[68]

The Government suppressed the situation. Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Rae arrested about 150 persons from Kasur and under the direction of Captain Doveton, a wedding party was flogged in the presence of prostitutes.[69] Similarly the authorities were cruel in suppressing the situation of Gujranwala. A party of twenty peasants, which was working in a field, was machine-gunned. Colonel O'Brien issued an order requiring Indians to alight from their carriages when they met British officers in the way and salute them. Those who ignored the orders were whipped or fined. The Martial Law Commission under Colonel O'Brien issued an order to convict 149 persons of whom 22 were to be sentenced to death, 108 to be transported for life and others to go to imprisonment for long terms.[70]

Though the Government appointed the Disturbances Inquiry Committee to enquire the Punjab unrest, but it was useless as the English were all powerful.[71] The Amritsar Congress in its session held under the Presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru condemned the oppressive attitude of the Government. But, it was obvious that in the Punjab and other provinces of India the manhood and womanhood were humiliated; at the same time it is also true that the Indian movement began to get strength under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

67. Vidyarthi, R.S., *British Savagery in India*, p. 14.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Home Political Department Proceedings*, Deposit, July, 1919, No. 29, NAI.

The A.I.C.C. also appointed an enquiry committee, consisting of three persons, namely Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Swami Shraddhananda. At the request of the Congress the Government had appointed the Disturbances Inquiry Committee under Mr. Hunter.

Conclusion

From what has been discussed so far, it can be concluded that the Arya Samaj laid the foundation of that nationalism on which Mahatma Gandhi erected the grand edifice of Indian independence.

Before Dayananda Saraswati, Indian nationalism was largely the concern of the middle class intellectuals who were the products of English education in India. They were largely English in their ideas, hopes and aspirations. The proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 was their Magna Carta and they hoped to get some sort of concessions from the British Empire. They also posed to be loyal citizens of the Empire.[1] Their source of inspiration were the liberal thinkers of Europe and England such as Burke, Bentham, Mazzini, Mill, Spencer and others.[2] Their nationalism was outlandish and rootless. They were not assertive enough to declare that India was on par with, and in some respects, superior to the West.

It was Swami Dayananda who, through his militant approach, made Indians realise that they were heirs of a splendid heritage, that they were a great nation in their own right. It was he who made them realise that they must adhere to their own religion, must be proud of their own hoary culture, and must cultivate their own language.[3] Though he hailed from Gujarat, he made Hindi the medium of his propagation of the Aryan faith.[4] He raised his voice against the denationalising influence of English education and laid stress on national education.[5] He wanted the

1. *Speeches of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea*, p. 52.
2. Desai, A.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.
3. MacDonald, Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.
4. *The Tribune*, August 25, 1911.

proper type of Vedic education to be imparted.[6] Dayananda Saraswati was the first man to proclaim that good government could be no substitute for self-government and he clearly brought out the difference between the two.[7] This burning patriotism of Dayananda made Indian nationalism more broad-based and brought it nearer to the masses. It prepared the background against which the later nationalist or extremist school flourished.[8] The attention of Maharshi Dayananda was not confined only to the religious and cultural regeneration of India, he also emphasised the industrial reconstruction of his country, the Aryavarta. He always preferred country-made goods to foreign goods and laid stress on Swadeshi.[9]

No doubt ostensibly the Maharshi kept himself away from politics and he did not criticise the Government policy directly, but the renaissance that he helped create brought about that climate in which political subjection could no longer be tolerated.[10] It was no accident and the Intelligence Department of the

5. The D.A.V. College, Lahore, imparted education on principle of national line. This institution proved that a knowledge of English and Western science could be safely imparted to Indians without either converting them to Christianity or making them hypocrites.

Home Political Department Proceedings, Deposit, November, 1908, No. 7.

Also Prasad, Bisheshwar, *Ideas in History,* p. 154.

6. The best example of the institution which revived the ancient Vedic culture is the Gurukul Kangri which belongs to the Vegetarian Section of the Arya Samaj.

7. *Satyartha Prakash,* Chapter Sixth, pp. 317-318.

Long before Henry Campbell Bannerman, Dayananda had declared that good Government was no substitute for self-government. Dayananda raised his voice for 'Swaraj' long before the Indian National Congress adopted it as its goal, in fact even before it was born.

8. Ahlliwalia, M.M., *op. cit.,* Int., p. XI.

9. *Home Public Department Proceedings,* May, 1882, Part-B, p. 250.

10. This has been nicely described by Romain Rolland in the following words: "His Arya Samaj...whether he wished it or not prepared the way in 1905 for the revolt of Bengal. He was one of the most ardent prophets of reconstruction and of national organisation. He always claimed to be non-political and non-anti-British. But the British Government judged differently." Rolland, Romaim, *The Life of Ram Krishna,* pp. 157-158.

Government of India looked upon the activities of the Arya Samaj with suspicion.[11] Nor was it a mere chance that the nationalist movement was the strongest in the Punjab and Western United Province (now Uttar Pradesh) where the influence of the Arya Samaj was most intense. It was also only natural that the Samaj provided one of the three great leaders of the extremist wing of the Congress. Other extremists also, mainly Lokmanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose, were more or less influenced by the teachings of the Arya Samaj. Tilak was deeply influenced by its activities. He, therefore, started anti-cow-killing societies, akharas, and lathi-clubs with a view to inculcating a manly spirit in the youth of Maharashtra and imparting to them the virtues of self-help and self-sacrifice in their fight for the emancipation of their motherland. He also revived the old festivals (Ganpati and Shivaji) and like Dayananda aroused in Indians a sense of self-respect.[12] Bipin Chandra Pal was also a great admirer of the Arya Samaj. In the message of Dayananda he discovered first a powerful defensive weapon by which Indians could repudiate the claims of superiority of Christianity and Islam over their national religions.[13] He also revived the ancient culture of India by starting Sakti cult. People began to believe in their strength by worshipping the Sakti of Kali. Aurobindo Ghose accepted national instinct from Dayananda's Vedism. These leaders advocated Swadeshi and Boycott. The stress on Swadeshi and Boycott at the time of the agitation against the partition of Bengal speaks of the far-sightedness of the Founder of the Arya Samaj. His cult of Swadeshi carried forward in all domains of life had a tremendous political implication.[14]

Many of the leaders of the Punjab unrest were also the

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11. Cf. Chapter VI of this work.

12. Parvate, T.V., *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

13. Mitra, Raja Rajendra Lal, *Speeches,* edited by Jogeshwar Mitra, p. 25.

14. *Home Political Department Proceedings,* Deposit, (Printed), October, 1907, No. 18. *On Origin and Character of the Swadeshi Movement.*

pillars of the Arya Samaj. Mahatma Hans Raj, Swami Shraddhananda, Dr. Dina Nath, Dhanpat Rai and several students of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, took part in the Punjab unrest.[15] Many of the items in the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi had already been foreshadowed by the Arya Samaj—propagation of national language, promotion of national education, removal of untouchability, revival of cottage industries and fostering of Hindu-Muslim unity.[16] Just as Mahatma Gandhi wanted the synthetic, humanistic and cosmopolitan Indian culture to be the basis on which the future world-order was to be built up, so Dayananda also wanted to Aryanise the whole world. His Aryan faith was neither exclusive nor denominational, rather it wanted to make the noble path acceptable to the whole world.[17] Thus we find that the Arya Samaj and its Founder made considerable contribution to Indian nationalism—made it fuller in its content, wider in its scope, indigenous in its approach, militant in its tone and noble in its ideals.

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15. Hans Raj was a main figure at the Jallianwala Bagh. He along with his students was busy in organising the meeting. While he was delivering his lecture in the meeting, Mr. Dyer entered the Bag' and ordered to fire.

Home Political Department Proceedings, (Deposit), July, 1919, No. 29, *On Hans Raj Statement given in Amritsar case.*

16. Many Arya Samajic leaders advocated Hindu Muslim unity. Lala Lajpat Rai, Ram Bhaj Dutta, Swami Shraddhananda and others always addressed meetings on this point. The Home Department Proceedings Records from 1907 to 1920 are full of such addresses.

17. Among the Ten Principles of the Arya Samaj, one is "to do good to the world, i.e., to make physical, spiritual and social improvement." Therefore, the Arya Samaj wanted the improvement of the whole world. Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad, *A Catechism of the Elementary Teachings of Hinduism,* p. 2.

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